

Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a
“Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript
(New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS G24)

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Images, Texts, and Marginalia in a “Vows of the Peacock” Manuscript (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library MS G24)

With a Complete Concordance and Catalogue of
Peacock Manuscripts

By

Domenic Leo



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LEIDEN • BOSTON

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Cover illustration: PML, MS G24; fol. 25v, det. Cassamus throws a pillow at Fésonas and Cassiel the Baudrain who are playing chess (photo with permission: The Pierpont Morgan Library).

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For Lucy Freeman Sandler and in Loving Memory of Michael Camille

*It makes no sense to hide a buried treasure,
for those who have knowledge must not be silent.*¹

¹ Jean Brisebarre, *Li restor du paon*, ed. E. Donkin (London, 1980), p. 62, “...pau vaut sens repus ne avoires enfouois / Dont ciex qui set les biens ne doit pas estre cois,” (Restor I, ll. 1–5). All translations, unless otherwise noted, are mine. Nancy Freeman Regalado and R. Barton Palmer kindly offered their expertise in the field to aid me in this formidable task.

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PREFACE

This project began as a graduate seminar report for Lucy Freeman Sandler at the Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, in 1990. I submitted it as a Qualifying Paper for my M.A. at the same institution in Spring, 1991; I read a shortened version at the Frick Award for Art History in Spring, 1992. Professor Sandler structured her seminar in such a manner that she gave a series of lectures on broad themes, diverse methodologies, and a multiplicity of examples; then each student worked on one manuscript. As I could make some sense of Old French, and was interested in secular art and literature, she presented me with a suitable manuscript: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 24, *The Vows of the Peacock*.² Little did I know the adventures it would take me on over the following two decades. I have profited greatly from Professor Sandler's guidance over the years in this and many other endeavors, including my dissertation. I was also able to have engaging conversations about the Glazier Peacock with Michael Camille over the years in Kalamazoo, New York, and Paris. The scope of his knowledge and depth of his generosity played a great role in my writing this book.

² Henceforth, the Glazier Peacock.

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Over the years numerous people have played significant roles in the research and writing of this book. These are only some of many. In Paris, Patricia Stirnemann and the staff at the I.R.H.T. were kind enough to offer helpful critiques and to provide me with guidance and access to their extensive collection of research tools. This was instrumental for enabling me to see otherwise partially or totally inaccessible manuscripts. At the Bibliothèque nationale, François Avril and Marie-Thérèse Gousset graciously offered help by suggesting dates and identifying artists/locales for some of the manuscripts I consulted.

The number and high-resolution quality of the images in this book are due to generous grants from the Rose Marrow and ICMA Kress Foundations; the former covering all costs for new photography and reproduction rights for the Glazier Peacock, the heart of this book. I should also like to thank William Voelkle and Roger Wieck at the same institution for giving me access to the Glazier Peacock and to the library's files on it; and their photography department for producing the images so quickly. Elizabeth Morrison, in the J. Paul Getty Museum's manuscripts department, introduced me to Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, an expert on heraldry, who took time out of a busy schedule and quickly sent me an overview of the heraldry in the Glazier Peacock.

I visited many libraries to view manuscripts during my years abroad. Most importantly, Martin Kauffmann, at the Bodleian Library, gave me access to the grandest of all manuscripts I have examined, the Bodleian Alexander. I wrote what became part of a catalogue and concordance of Peacock manuscripts which I sent to him years later. He sent my work to Richard Gameson, editor-in-chief of the series *Library of the Written Word, The Manuscript World*. He and my outside readers' critiques enabled me to rethink and reshape this project.

Alison Stones (personal communication) was the first art historian to share her views on the stylistic context of the Glazier Peacock. She introduced me to historian Hélène Bellon-Méguelle who generously sent me a working draft of her important book on the *Voeux du paon*. Michel Margue also shared his ideas on this project and his own forthcoming book, and sent me offprints of his work on vowing tales and their reception by the nobility.

During a seminar at the Erasmus Institute at Notre Dame I benefited from the critiques of my colleagues and Jeffrey F. Hamburger. Many, many

thanks to Nancy Regalado who, with great patience, helped me with her suggestions on the text and difficult translations and introduced me to Mark Cruse who shared his dissertation and work on the Bodleian Alexander. R. Barton Palmer also aided me with the translations, and Gerald B. Guest was kind enough to read and critique portions of this work in its early stages. Elizabeth A.R. Brown contributed many stimulating suggestions for my work on the Templars and introduced me to other experts, who in turn gave insights, including Malcolm Barber, Sean L. Field, Fillip Hooghe, and Jan Hosten.

Finally, my entire family and close friends – especially Cristina Ashjian, Anne Capdeville, Diny and Amanda Coulson, Maurine Littleton, Leonard Greco, Renaud and Françoise Benoit, and John Millet – gave unending emotional support. Cristina housed and fed me during extensive stays in the quiet and beauty of her home in Moultonboro, NH; Maurine did the same in Washington, D.C., as did Leonard in New York, the Coulsons and Benoits in London and Paris, my siblings in Ft. Lauderdale, and my parents in Pittsburgh. Jileen Nadolny allowed me to tag along during her travels in Germany and Switzerland, oftentimes going out of her way to bring me to small libraries where she played an instrumental role as translator.

I reserve a special place for Marlene Hennessey who was brave enough to read and comment on this book in its entirety. Any and all mistakes here are my own!

CREDITS

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Richard J. Carey, ed., *Jean de la Mote, La Parfait du Paon*, © Department of Romance Languages and Literatures at the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, (Chapel Hill, NC, 1972).

Jonna Kjaer, ed., “Brisebare: *Le Plait de L'Evesque et de Droit*, édition critique du ms. ancien fonds royal no. 2061–4 de la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague,” *Revue Romane* (numéro special, 10) (1977), pp. 1–129.

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Enid Donkin, ed., *Li Restor du Paon*, © Modern Humanities Research Association (London, 1980).

Lambert C. Porter, *La Fatrasie et le fatras: essai sur la poésie irrationnelle en France au moyen âge*, © Librairie E. Droz (Geneva, 1960).

T.H. White, trans. and ed., *The Bestiary, The Book of Beasts*, © Parallel Press (London, 1954).

ABBREVIATIONS

LIBRARIES

BL – London, British Library
BnF – Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France
BR – Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale Albert Ier
PML – The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York

TEXTS

Blumenfeld	R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The Poetics of Continuation in the Old French Paon Cycle," <i>Romance Philology</i> 39 (1986), pp. 437–447.
Cassamus	Eelco Verwijs, <i>Roman van Cassamus</i> (Groningen, 1869).
<i>Restor</i>	<i>Restor du paon</i>
Restor	R.J. Carey, ed., " <i>Le restor du paon</i> by Jean le Court, dit Brisebare," Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University (1965).
Restor 1	<i>Le restor du paon</i> , ed. R.J. Carey (Geneva, 1966).
Restor 2	Jean Brisebarre, <i>Li restor du paon</i> , ed. E. Donkin (London, 1980).
<i>Parfait</i>	<i>Parfait du paon</i>
Parfait	Jean de le Mote, <i>Le parfait du paon</i> , ed. R.J. Carey (Chapel Hill, 1972).
Peacock Cycle	A reference to the three Peacock texts
Peckham	Lawton P.G. Peckham, Milan Sylvanus La Du, and Alfons Hilka, <i>La prise de Defur and Le voyage d'Alexandre au paradis terrestre</i> , Elliott Monographs, 35 (Princeton, 1935).
<i>Prise</i>	<i>La Prise de Defur</i>
Ritchie 1	John Barbour, <i>The Buik of Alexander</i> , ed. L. Graeme Ritchie, vol. 1 (Edinburgh, 1925)
Ritchie 2	John Barbour, <i>The Buik of Alexander</i> , ed. L. Graeme Ritchie, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1921)
Ritchie 3	John Barbour, <i>The Buik of Alexander</i> , ed. L. Graeme Ritchie, vol. 3 (Edinburgh, 1927)

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New Haven, Beinecke Rare Books and Manuscript Library, MS 613 [S10]: Beinecke Peacock

New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 24 [P7]: Glazier Peacock

Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 264 [P]: Bodleian Alexander

Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308 [P1]: Douce Peacock

Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, ms. fr. 12565 [W]: Paris Peacock

ARTISTS

- Maubeuge* Thomas de Maubeuge and atelier
- Montbaston* Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston
- Rennes Rose* Rennes Rose Master (Rennes, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 243, *Roman de la Rose*) and atelier.³

CATALOGUES AND FREQUENTLY USED SOURCES

- BnF Ancien. *Bibliothèque Impériale. Catalogue des manuscrits français. Ancien fonds*, vol. 1, (Paris, 1868).

³ For conformity I use the names given by Alison Stones, "The Stylistic Context of *le Roman de Fauvel* and a Note on *Fauvain*," in *Fauvel Studies: Allegory, Chronicle, Music, and Image in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale de France, MS Français 146*, eds. Margaret Bent and Andrew Wathey (Oxford, 1998), pp. 529–567; Appendix B, "The Stylistic Subgroups Surrounding the Fauvel Master", pp. 556–559.

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- Ward H.L.D. Ward, *Catalogue of Romances in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum*, 10 vols. (London, 1883).

INTRODUCTION

Les voeux du paon (The Vows of the Peacock) is a poem nearly 8,600 lines long which was composed between 1312 and 1313. It was dedicated to a high-ranking member of the clergy who came from an aristocratic family, Thibaut de Bar, bishop of Liège. The poem was written in the Lorraine region of France, as is apparent by the dialect. It enjoyed immediate popularity and the forty surviving manuscripts in French span the fourteenth century. Many are luxuriously illuminated.¹ Although the two earliest manuscripts were painted in or near Lorraine, the remainder, for the most part, were painted by well-known ateliers in Paris.² As further testimony to its renown, there are two inter-related, later poems, *Le restor du paon* (The Restoration of the Peacock) and *Le parfait du paon* (The Perfection of the Peacock). The poems are known collectively as the 'Peacock Cycle'.³

LES VOEUX DU PAON: THE STORYLINE

Despite its length, the plot of the *Voeux* is simple. The story is told in two distinct parts.⁴ The first recounts a war fought between forces of good, Alexander the Great, and evil, Clarus, king of Ind. The second part recounts events leading up to a scene in which vows are made over a peacock; and then long battle scenes which tell of their eventual fulfillment. Important as regards contemporary reception, the second part of the *Voeux* begins with an evocation of springtime – a standard opening – which sanctions

¹ Twenty-six manuscripts are illuminated; two were illuminated but have had their miniatures removed, while in three cases illumination was planned but not executed. The earliest example is most likely the Douce Peacock from Lorraine (Metz?), of c. 1313, which has 145 miniatures; the Anglo-Norman Spencer Peacock, of c. 1360, has eighty-one miniatures; and the Brussels Peacock, a French manuscript which dates c. 1400, has two miniatures (Brussels, BR MSS. 11190–11191). In addition, there are three translations, one each in Latin, Flemish, and Scottish; see the Catalogue.

² The Douce Peacock and the Cologny Peacock.

³ I will use the following abbreviations for the poems: *Voeux*, *Restor*, and *Parfait*. On the idea of a 'Peacock Cycle', see R. Blumenfeld-Kosinski, "The Poetics of Continuation in the Old French *Paon* Cycle," *Romance Philology* 39 (1986), pp. 437–447.

⁴ Restor 2 provides invaluable summaries of the Peacock Cycle in English.

the possibility for reading it as a new, self-sufficient work. Rubrics in a group of manuscripts at this location reinforce the conceit.⁵

A series of marginal notations in manuscript [S6] – which has no miniatures – are another indication of period reception and reading practices.⁶ They highlight the dynamics of the vowing ceremony by noting the number of each vow and the person making it. For example, “Cy comenche les vou du paon / premier Cassamus,” (Here begin the Vows of the Peacock/ first Cassamus) flanks the text “Sire dist elyos au vaillan Cassamus/ vous etes le plus viex,” (Sire, says Elyot to the valiant Cassamus, you are the eldest; 124/4018–4019).⁷

LES VOEUX DU PAON, PART I

*Here begin the Vows of the Peacock and the story of their accomplishment and the marriage of the maidens*⁸

*Après che qu'Alixandre ot Dedefur conquis,
Et a force d'espee occis le duc Melchis...*⁹

After Alexander had conquered Defur and slain Duke Melcis with his sword, he feasted in the noble city of Aurere. Five or six days later, he took up his journey to Tarsus where he could see his beloved queen, Candace. He pitched camp that night in verdant fields beside the mighty river Faron. Upon awakening, he stepped out of his tent to take a morning walk, enjoying the rising sun and clear blue sky. He quietly thanked the gods for all that they had granted him. But he continued to implore them for one last gift: to conquer Babylon. His reverie was broken when he crossed paths with an old, bearded man who was dressed in black as if in mourning. The man introduced himself as Cassamus de Larris. He explained that he was on his way to the Temple of Marcus to pray and make sacrifices for his brother, Gadifer de Larris, who died at the hands of Alexander's lieutenant Éménidus. Cassamus slowly realized that he was speaking to the king, and his rage flared. An altercation between the two, however, was allayed by Alexander, who expressed his true sorrow for Cassamus' loss. The old man then recounted the tragedy about to befall the city of Epheson. Clarus, the evil king of Ind, sought to kill Gadifer's heirs – his sons Gadifer of Epheson and his brother, Bétis – to marry his daughter, Fésonas, against her will, and to rob them of

⁵ For example, *Ci comenchent les veus / dou paon* ([N6], above laisse 120, fol. 65v). Similar examples can be found in manuscripts [N26P45Q].

⁶ BnF fr. 1590, fols. 61–66.

⁷ An amusing variant in the [P] redaction, Voeux (1956), replaces 'vaillan' with 'viellart'. It reads, “Sire, dist Elios au *viellart* Cassamus / Vous estes li ainnes” (Sire, says Elyot to the *old man* Cassamus, you are the eldest; 124/4018–4019).

⁸ *Ci commencent les veus du paon et la complissement et le mariage des pucelles*, [U], rubric above text, fol. 60.

⁹ Manuscript [P], 1/1–2, fol. 110.

their inheritance. Alexander agreed at once to rally to Cassamus' cause and to fight alongside him. Soon enough, a bitter war was waged before the palace in Epheson.

LES VOEUX DU PAON, PART II

The Vows of the Peacock Begin Here¹⁰

*A l'entrée de may qu'ivers va a declin
Que cil oiseillon gay chantent en lor latin
Bos et pres raverdissent...*¹¹

When May begins and winter wanes, and the gay birds sing in their Latin, the woods and fields turn green again. It was in this season, lord, on a Monday morning, that Clarus besieged the army of Gadifer. War was waged and the blood which flowed from bodies and arms and heads covered the bodies of the slain and wounded that filled the ditches.¹² In due course, when Alexander's men took a captive, Cassiel the Baudrain, he was brought to the Chamber of Venus. Porrus, struck down by Cassamus, was also taken to the Chamber. Here, matters of the heart ruled. The group played the game of *Le roi qui ne ment* (The king who does not lie) in which each participant is asked a question on the topic of love by the 'king', who in this instance was Bétis. This reveals that some of the participants shared feelings of love for each other. Shortly afterwards comes the catalyst for the second half of the poem. Porrus, in a melancholy mood because he is no longer in the battle was wandering through the palace gardens. He sees a peacock perched atop the roof of the Chamber of Venus, fanning its tail feathers. Unbeknownst to him, it is the lady Fésonas' pet. He kills it. Perhaps to highlight this scene, the bird's death, as if it were that of a soldier on the battlefield, is described in graphic detail. Porrus hit the peacock with a stone directly in the head with great force, and the eyes flew out, the brain splattered, and the bird fell to the ground; its wings flapping in spasms, as does a person close to death.¹³ A varlet rushed the bird to the palace kitchen where it was plucked, roasted, and stuffed. Beautifully dressed with the head and tail feathers, it was

¹⁰ *Ci commence le voue de paoune*, [Q], fol. 132.

¹¹ Voeux (1954), (120/3880–3882).

¹² Voeux (1954), *Sanc de cors et de bras et testes issir / Plains les fosses de mors et de navres couvrir*, (250/7379–7380). I thank R. Barton Palmer for helping with this and other translations. Throughout the *Voeux*, the descriptions of fighting are vivid and graphic, as in this example, enhanced by a florid writing style. Romantic dalliance operates in counterpoint to this element, the success of which relies to a great part on witty repartee.

¹³ Voeux (1954), *Le paonchiel atainst en le teste devant, / Les iex en fait voler, le cervelle en espant, / Li paons chiet a terre ses eles frotelant / Si com chiex qui la mort aloit molt aprochant* (121/3946–3949). Note that the miniatures accompanying this scene systematically show Porrus shooting a bow and arrow to kill the peacock. In the poem, however, he stopped a varlet who was killing birds "de pierres, de caillaus," (rocks) and borrowed his weapon in which he used ".i. cailletet pesant," (a heavy rock).

brought to the table. The elderly Cassamus then initiated a vowing ritual: the men boasted of the feats of prowess which they would perform on the battlefield; and the ladies promised themselves in marriage. The lady Elyot offered the peacock to Aristé because his vow to remain in the battle until it was won was deemed to be the bravest. In the course of extended fighting scenes, the vows were accomplished both on and off the battlefield. There is one exception: Édéas had vowed to reconstruct the peacock in gold. This deed constitutes the commencement of a 'sequel', *the Restor*. The poem ends with the marriage of five couples. After fifteen days of festivities, Alexander departs for Babylon, where, sadly, death awaits him.

STUDIES OF THE PEACOCK MANUSCRIPTS

Largely overlooked and undervalued, due in large part to the length of the *Voeux*, the Peacock texts have been the subject of relatively few literary and philological studies.¹⁴ The earliest and most notable work is R.L. Graeme Ritchie's four-volume series on the Peacock manuscripts which he wrote over an eight-year period in the 1920s.¹⁵ At the core is his edition of *The Buik of Alexander*, a Scottish translation of two poetic extensions of the *Roman d'Alexandre: Li Fuerre de Gadres* and the *Voeux*. In addition to the redactions of the poem, his work remains relevant for the detailed study of the language and the stemmata which are based to a large part on philological data. Ritchie's catalogue, although now outdated, remains reliable and useful for the philological commentaries. There were no significant studies of the Peacock poems until 1954, when Camillus Casey wrote a dissertation with an edition of the *Voeux*.¹⁶ In 1964, a dissertation with a different redaction and only the first part of the *Voeux* was written, and in 1966 an edition of the *Restor* was published.¹⁷

¹⁴ Most recently by Hélène Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars à la Chambre de Vénus: le beau jeu courtois dans les Voeux du Paon de Jacques de Longuyon* (Paris, 2008); and in multiple works by Michel Margue, notably: "Les Voeux sur les oiseaux: fortune littéraire d'un rite de cour – usages politique d'un motif littéraire," in *Les Voeux du Paon de Jacques de Longuyon: originalité et rayonnement*, ed. Catherine Gaullier-Bougassas (Paris, 2011), pp. 255–289, and idem, *Les Voeux sur les oiseaux: essai sur une pratique culturelle: La chevalerie et son image au bas Moyen Âge* (forthcoming, 2013). I am grateful to Hélène for sending me a copy of her ambitious and well-executed book before publication and to Nancy Regalado for introducing this work to me and that of Michel Margue, who so graciously answered my questions and shared his own work.

¹⁵ Ritchie, 1–4.

¹⁶ *Voeux* (1954).

¹⁷ *Voeux* (1964); *Restor* 1. The latter has since been superseded by *Restor* 2, written in 1980. Hélène Bellon-Méguelle is currently working on a redaction of the *Voeux* based on manuscript [Q]. An edition of the *Parfait* was published in 1972.

IMAGES, TEXTS, AND METHODOLOGY

D.J.A. Ross wrote that “A study of the illustrated manuscripts of the *Voeux*, *Restor*, and *Parfait du paon*...might not be very rewarding.”¹⁸ He refers most likely to the Peacock manuscripts with long and sometimes tedious iconographic programs. Up until this point there have been no major systematic studies of the Peacock manuscripts as a whole by an art historian. This is no doubt due to the difficulty in accessing the manuscripts, spread from the New York and New Haven to Copenhagen and the Vatican; and, especially, in reading the Old French texts. My initial work on the illuminated Peacock manuscripts thus entailed accumulating information for a concordance and catalogue based on personal examinations of them.

The most effective means of cross-checking the placement of images in Peacock manuscripts is a concordance which records points of intersection within laisses, monorhymed verse groups of indefinite length, and by line.¹⁹ This can be further refined by tracking subject matter. A caveat: Paul Zumthor’s concept of *mouvance*, which refers to the inherently fluid nature of the medieval text, can also apply to the images, which can ‘migrate’ – the same miniature may appear in two manuscripts, but in two different insertion points.²⁰

A critical example of textual *mouvance* is the use of tituli, long narrative rubrics which are most often executed in red ink. In the instance of the [N] Family tituli, they abbreviate the plotline, filling in spaces which may have been initially intended for miniatures.²¹ In [N6], for example, there is no image on fol. 46v. Instead, the fifteen-line titulus reads:

Ci commence li geus dez esches/ comment li viex cassamus/ fist aporter
leschequier/ ou palais iupiter pour iouer/ et comment cassiel/ le baudrain
ioua a/ encontre fezonas la pucelle/ et les biaux mos/ quil disoient entreus/
et comment fezonas/ se vanta que elle/ le rendroit mat en langle/ pour la
quelle chose il yot/ grant risee des dames et des chevaliers/ qui ouirent le mot.

¹⁸ D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, 2nd ed., (Frankfurt, 1988), p. 88, n. 67.

¹⁹ See Chapter 8, ‘Peacock Cycle Manuscripts: A Concordance of Miniatures’. I will replace ‘verse’ and ‘vv.’ with ‘line’, ‘l.’, and ‘ll.’, throughout.

²⁰ For an in-depth and helpful overview of Zumthor’s use of this term, regarding the absence of direct ‘copying’ of texts in the Middle Ages, see Bella Millett, ‘What is *mouvance*?’ (2003), in *Wessex Parallel WebTexts*, <http://www.soton.ac.uk/~wpwt/mouvance/mouvance.htm> [accessed December, 2010].

²¹ Manuscripts [N126S1]. For a commentary on tituli, see Keith Busby, *Codex and Context: Reading Old French Verse Narrative in Manuscript*, 2 vols. (Amsterdam, 2002), vol. I, pp. 320–321.

Here the game of chess begins, how the aged Cassamus had the chessboard brought to the Palace of Jupiter to play, and how Cassiel the Baudrain played with the maiden Fésonas and the beautiful words they exchanged and how Fésonas showed off because she called ‘check mate’ because of which there was loud laughter amongst the ladies and knights who heard her.

In [N2], fol. 93, there is no miniature, but we sense the scribe’s presence strongly as he creates a ‘narrator’ speaking in the first person; for example, “Or retourne a ma matiere,” (Now I return to my story). This conceit emphasizes the possibility for a performance, especially when read silently. It also occurs in manuscript [N2] on fols. 136–136v.

To facilitate a comparison of tituli, I created a concordance where they can be easily examined in relation to each other (Appendix 1, ‘Concordance of Tituli’). It demonstrates the fluidity of their placement within the texts and the degree to which the plotlines remained malleable. One example is the description of the game *Le roy qui ne ment*. It is introduced in the text in laisse 45, and the placement of the tituli makes it clear that they have ‘migrated’.

[N2] laisse 47, l. 1633: no miniature [fol. 28v]

Coment le baudrain est avec les iii puceles/ et cassamus dou laurris et Bétis et ioient au roy qui/ ne ment...

How Cassiel the Baudrain is with the three damsels and Cassamus de Lorris and Bétis play *Le roy qui ne ment*.

[N2] laisse 52, l. 8161: no miniature [fol. 32]

Ci endroit raconte comment la belle fezonas/ demande au roy qui ne ment les quels ii cho/ses li font plus de bien a aimer et il li respont/ que cest espoir et souvenir

This section recounts how the beautiful Fésonas asks *Le roy qui ne ment* which two things make one love the best; and [Bétis] responds that they are hope and remembrance.

[S1] laisse 48, l. 1668: no miniature

Ci devise comment Bétis fu couronnes de iour de festus et fu esleus au roy qui ne ment de Édéas

Here it tells how Bétis was crowned the *Le roy qui ne ment* by Édéas.

A note in the bas-de-page of [S1] is proof, perhaps, that there was a central list of tituli. It appears with a slight variation as the titulus in [N2], making it clear that they ‘migrated’.

[S1] laisse 112, l. 3649

Mêlée where Porrus is captured in a sword fight at center, castle to right; note in bas-de-page: comment porrus est prisons [poy?]le mains dont ami [...]
ichap

How Porrus is taken as a prisoner and led ...

[N2] laisse 112, l. 3649: no miniature [fol. 62].

Come porus est pris et le mame cassamus/ ala cite defeson come prisonier:

How Porrus is captured and taken by Cassamus to the city of Epheson as a prisoner.

For the next step in analyzing and classifying the illuminated Peacock poems, I created a series of filiation charts based on art historical data. In this manner, style, date, contents, and iconographic programs functioned as new variables to aid in mapping out this expansive group. The sum of this information is the 'Master Filiation Chart' (Chart 1).

Second, I fused my filiation charts with the philological charts for the *Voeux* and *Restor* to see if they had any points of contact. The outcome demonstrated that there were very few instances of 'copying' iconographic programs, even when painted by the same ateliers. In fact, the earliest illuminated manuscripts – the Douce Peacock and the Cologny Peacock – both from the Lorraine region in France, have significant differences. The Douce Peacock has 145 miniatures, whereas the Cologny Peacock has only thirteen. In addition, both manuscripts are painted in very different styles.

Combining the art historical filiations with the philological filiations shows that there is little if no connection between them as regards the *Voeux*.²² Combining the same elements for the *Restor*, based on Enid Donkin and Richard J. Carey's stemmata, however, produces the opposite outcome: they are intimately related.²³ Apparently, at one time there was a connection between the author and / or scribe(s) and painter(s).

A style-based stemma demonstrates that at least twelve of these manuscripts fall into distinct groups (Chart 2). They were executed by four well-known and documented artists and ateliers. The Parisian artists who painted Peacock Cycle manuscripts include: the Fauvel Master (one manuscript); Thomas de Maubeuge (three manuscripts), and Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston (five manuscripts). The work of the Rennes *Rose*

²² This outcome leads to the broader topic of the creation and transmission of iconographic programs with other secular works such as the Chrétien de Troyes manuscripts, and the *Collected Works* of French poet-composer Guillaume de Machaut. For an expansive study of the former, see Keith Busby, Terry Nixon, Alison Stones, and Lori Walters, eds., *Les manuscrits de / The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes* (Amsterdam, 1993), especially Alison Stones, 'The Illustrated Chrétien Manuscripts and their Artistic Context', vol. 1, pp. 227–322. For the illuminated Machaut manuscripts, see my, 'Authorial Presence in the Illuminated Machaut Manuscripts,' Ph.D dissertation, Institute of Fine Arts, New York University, 2005. For an overview of these practices, see J.J.G. Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators and Their Methods of Work* (New Haven, 1994).

²³ Restor 1 and 2.

Painter, from Northern France, appears in six manuscripts.²⁴ Although the Rennes *Rose* Master illuminated six manuscripts close in time to the creation of the *Voeux*, the most significantly inter-related manuscripts are the nine which were created in Paris by the Maubeuge and Montbaston ateliers. They constitute a network of same-artist as well as same- / related-rubrics connections.

Despite being separated by almost a decade, the Maubeuge and Montbaston ateliers have related rubrics (Chart 3).²⁵ The opening images of the Rennes *Rose* Painter's manuscripts are close enough in composition to suggest that they followed a single model and were, perhaps, executed within a short period of time (Chart 4, A-H). The paucity of images in them (two in S3N3 and one in S10N4) is a likely indicator that the painter(s) simplified the creative process. This element would have made copying quicker, and the final product less expensive; a likely indicator that there was a demand for them as early as c. 1313, the date of the *Voeux*'s completion.

The Rennes *Rose* Master and the Maubeuge painters share a distinct stylistic vocabulary (Chart 5, A-C). This includes white-ground flesh with flimsy, black-line features and rouged cheeks; and buildings with 'corrugated' roofs, round finials, and white masonry lines. But the Rennes *Rose* Master uses a different palette, with blues, greys, and burgundies; the rouge is bright orange as opposed to the scarlet used by Maubeuge. The Rennes *Rose* Master's frames are in burgundy and blue with balls at the corners that are the same colors or half and half. Some of his hallmarks are: a distinctive starfish-like form at corners of frames, marginal extenders, and large painted initials (Chart 4).

To focus on this group of painters, I narrowed the filiation chart to include only the thirteen manuscripts created by or strongly tied to the

²⁴ Of the remaining sixteen, three have spaces for miniatures that were never painted: manuscripts [S25N2]. Two have had all miniatures removed: manuscripts [S6P5]. See Alison Stones, "The Stylistic Context of the *Roman de Fauvel*, with a Note on *Fauvain*," in Bent and Wathey (1998), pp. 529–568, esp. 558. On these ateliers, see Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse, *Medieval Manuscripts and Their Makers: Commercial Book Producers in Medieval Paris, 1200–1500* (Turnhout, 2000): on Thomas de Maubeuge, see chapter 7, 'Thomas de Maubeuge and the Vernacular Legend Collections', vol. 1, pp. 173–202; on the Montbaston atelier, see chapter 9, 'A *Rose* by any other Name: Richard and Jeanne de Montbaston as Illuminators of Vernacular Texts', vol. 1, pp. 235–260; especially p. 242, "...the Montbastons painted more than one copy of the same work...four manuscripts of the Peacock Cycle"; and vol. 1, p. 371, n. 9. For a list of manuscripts made by Maubeuge and the Montbastons, as well as their contents and provenance, see vol. 2, Appendices 7F and 9A.

²⁵ Also consult Chapter 8 and Appendix 1, 'Concordance of Tituli'.

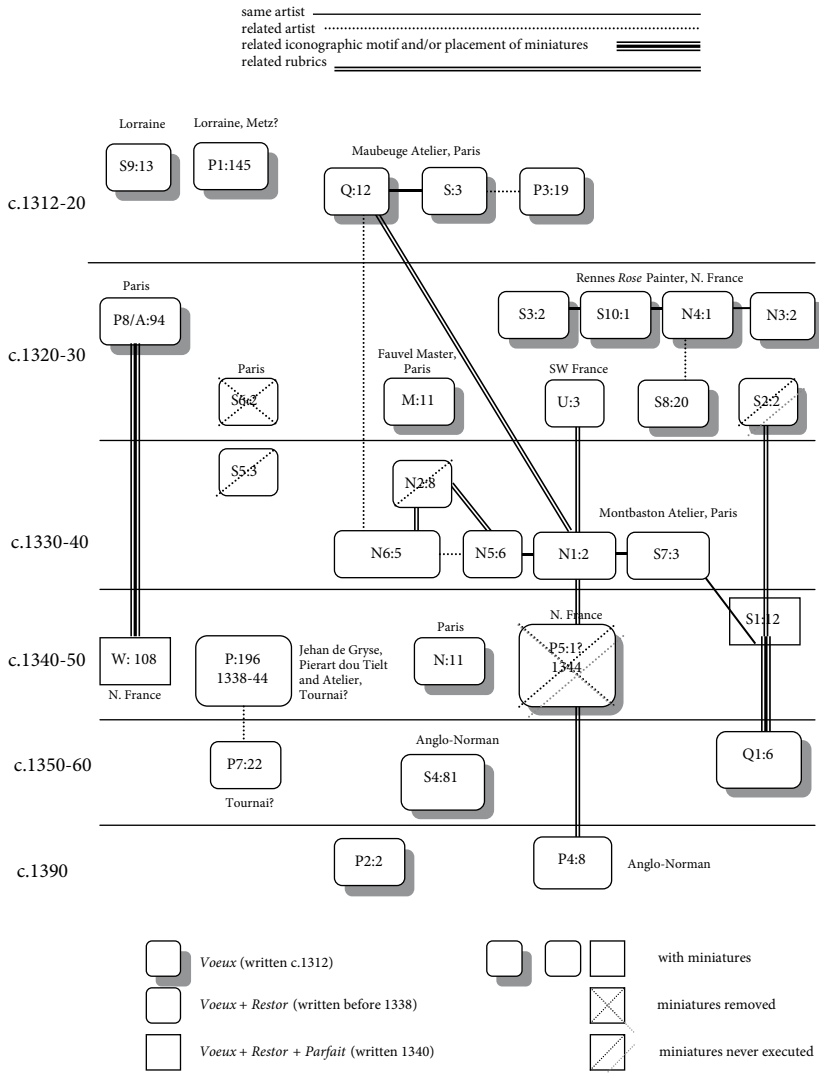


Chart 1. Master filiation of illuminated Peacock cycle manuscripts.

Maubeuge and Montbaston ateliers. I have dubbed this group the ‘Family Cluster’ (Chart 6). One Peacock manuscript is the joint work of the Maubeuge Master and Richard de Montbaston, important as regards transmission and workshop practices (Chart 7, A-E).²⁶ The authoritative

²⁶ BnF, ms. fr. 24386, [N6]. For a description, see Rouse (2000), vol. 2, p. 178, “All the faces except those in one picture (fol. 85) have been repainted c. 1500 in Northwest France,” and

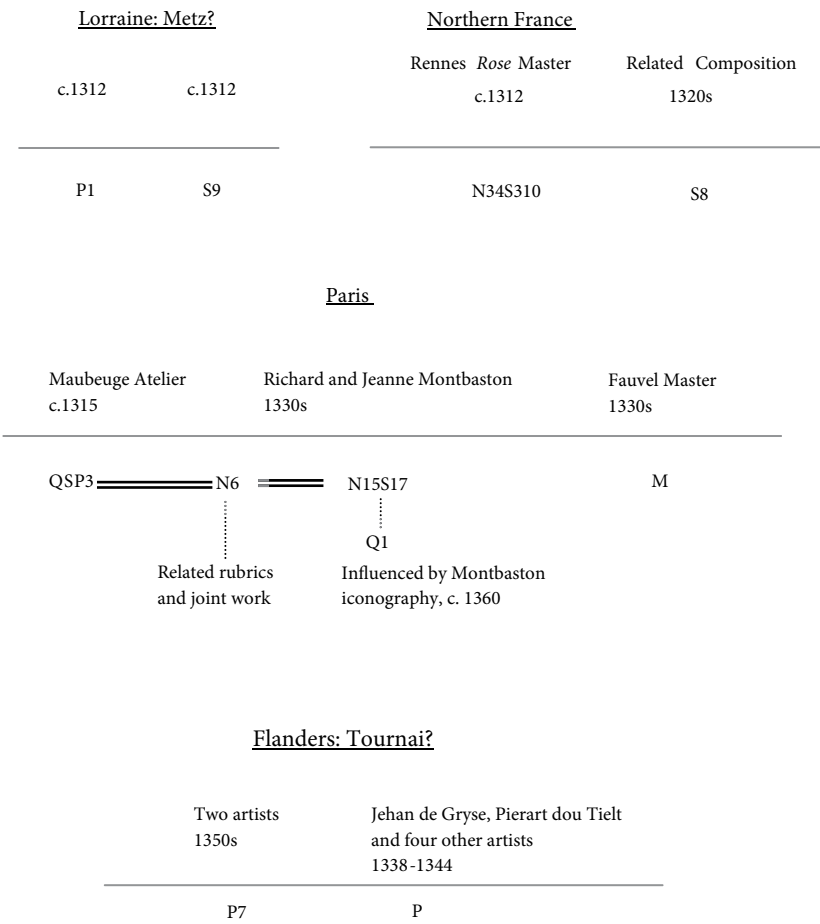


Chart 2. Style-based stemma.

work of Richard H. Rouse and Mary A. Rouse reveals that Richard de Montbaston and his wife, Jeanne, created more than one Peacock manuscript (Chart 8, A-E).²⁷ The miniatures in Jeanne’s manuscripts [N15S1] are near ‘copies’ as regards composition. In addition, Jeanne used an idiosyncratic conceit whereby the large initials which mark the beginning of the poems consist of an ‘S’ scroll filled with one sycamore leaf per space, or a grotesque above and a leaf below (Charts 8 and 9, A-B).

p. 206. The Fauvel Master also worked with the Montbastons on BnF, ms. fr. 22495, dated 1337, Guillaume de Tyr, *Historia*.

²⁷ Rouse (2000).

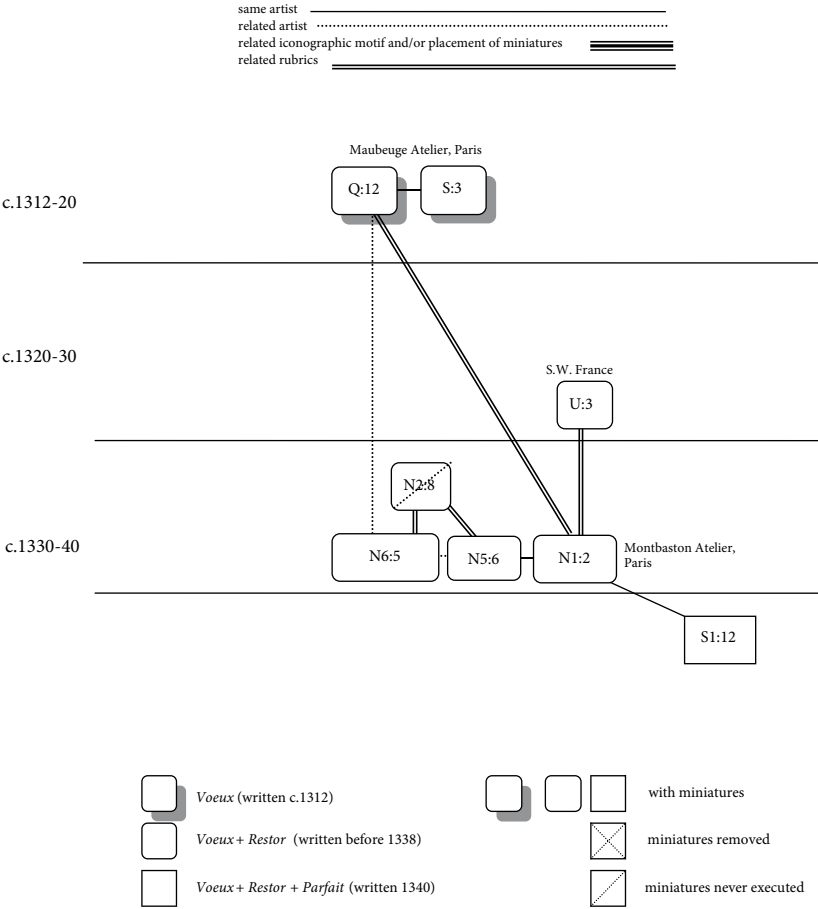


Chart 3. Manuscripts with rubrics.

Further refinement of the filiation identifies ten manuscripts with a shared network of rubrics (Chart 3). This highlights the interaction between the Maubeuge and Montbaston ateliers. Rubrics accompanying miniatures appear notably in the Glazier Peacock, the Bodleian Alexander, and in eight other manuscripts.²⁸ The philological stemma for the Peacock Cycle groups the Glazier Peacock with manuscript [P6], which has no miniatures, and in close relation to the lavishly illuminated Bodleian

²⁸ Manuscripts [N126P8/AQS12U].



Fig. 4A. BnF, ms. fr. 25522, fol. 1 [N3] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 4B. New Haven, Beinecke Library MS 613, fol. 1 [S10] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: Beinecke Library).

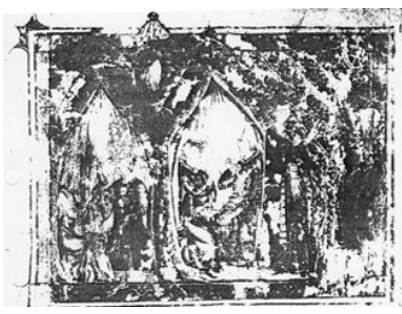
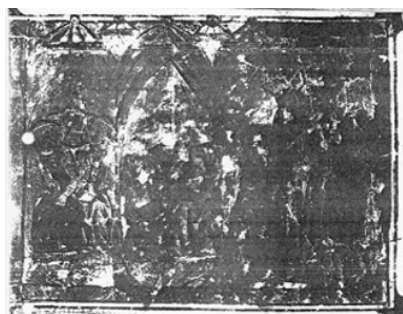


Fig. 4C. BnF, ms. fr. 2136, fol. 1 [S3] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 4D. BnF, ms. fr. 14972, fol. 1 [N4] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 4E. BnF, ms. fr. 25522, fol. 1 [N3] Frame detail (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 4F. BnF, ms. fr. 25522, fol. 1 [N3] Border detail (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 4G. New Haven Beinecke Library MS 613, fol. 1 [S10] Border detail (photo with permission: Beinecke Library).

Fig. 4H. BnF, ms. fr. 2136, fol. 1 [S3] Frame detail (photo with permission: BnF).

Chart 4. Rennes *Rose* master manuscripts [N34S310], northern France, c. 1320.



Fig. 5A. Vat. lat. MS 3209, fol. 1, det. [P3] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Fig. 5B. BnF, ms. fr. 790, fol. 107v, det. [Q] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 5C. BnF, ms. fr. 1590, fol. 96, det. [S] Alexander and the Queen (photo with permission: BnF).

Chart 5. Maubeuge Atelier, manuscripts [P3QS], Paris, c. 1320.

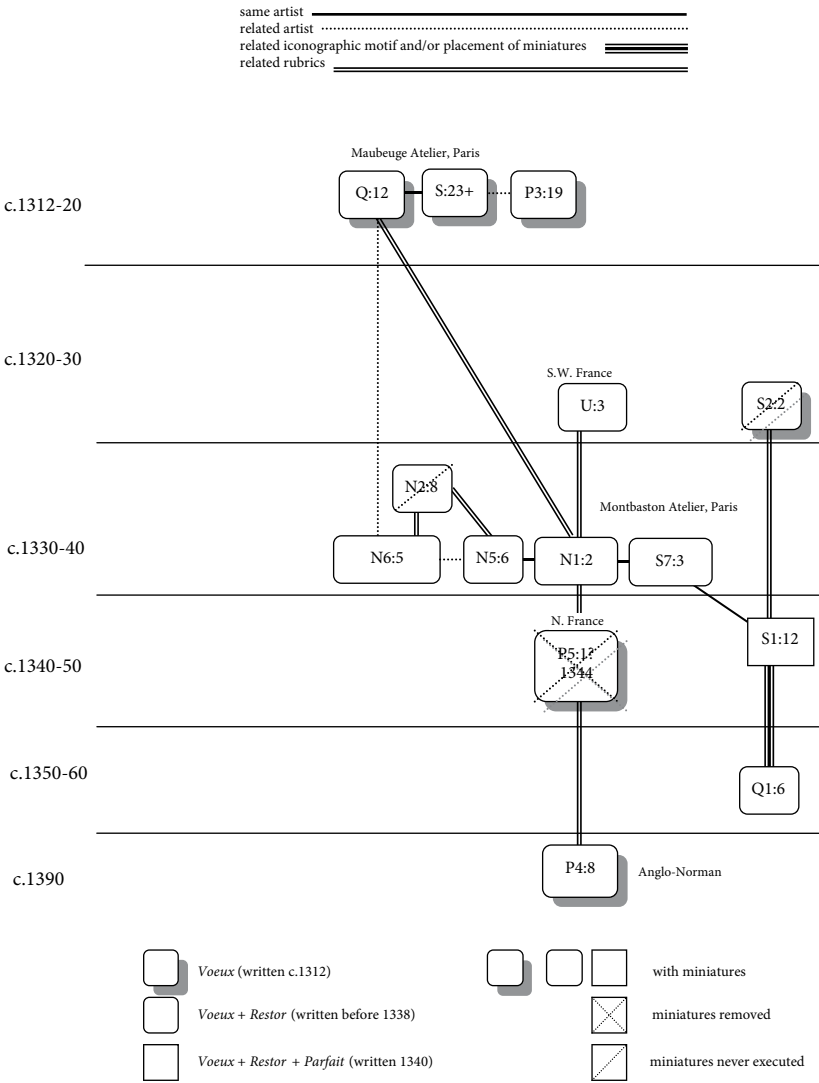


Chart 6. The 'Family Cluster'.

Alexander.²⁹ Thus, the 'Family Cluster' group can be reduced even further (in the hope of finding a stronger indication of transmission between the two ateliers in question) by only showing the eight manuscripts that

²⁹ The iconographer(s) / painter(s) of the Glazier Peacock, together with manuscripts [N6PP6], insert the *Restor* into the body of the *Voeux*. The Glazier Peacock, however,



Fig. 7A. BnF, ms. fr. 790, fol. 107v, det. [Q] Alexander and Cassamus, Master of Thomas de Maubeuge (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 7B. BnF, ms. fr. 24386, fol. 1, det. [N6] Alexander and Cassamus, Richard de Montbaston and Maubeuge Master (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 7C. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, fol. 138, det. [S1] The Golden Peacock, Jeanne de Monbaston; (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

Fig. 7D. BnF, ms. fr. 24386, fol. 164, det. [N6] The Golden Peacock, Richard de Montbaston and Maubeuge Master (photo with permission: BnF).

Fig. 7E. BL, MS Add. 16888, fol. 142, det. [N1] The Golden Peacock, Jeanne de Montbaston (photo with permission © The British Library Board).

Chart 7. Master of Thomas de Maubeuge and Richard and Jeanne de Monbaston: Joint work on [N6] (BnF, ms. fr. 24386).

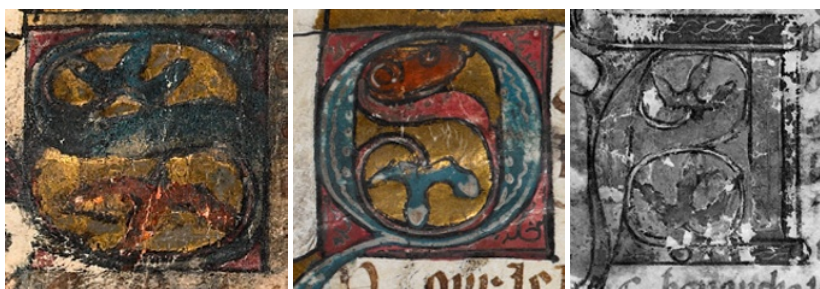
diverges from this group by copying the *Vœux* only to Ritchie's laisse two and then beginning the *Restor*, but incorporating seven after Restor I 68. See Restor 2, pp. 35–37. The Glazier and Paris Peacocks and manuscripts [P6Q1] share structural similarities in the *Restor*: neither breaks the text after line 1484. See Restor 2, p. 39.



From the left:

Fig. 8A. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, fol. 1[S1] Alexander and Cassamus, Jeanne de Montbaston (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

Fig. 8B. Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Thott 414 (French XLVI), fol. 1 [S7] Alexander and Cassamus, Richard de Montbaston (?) (photo with permission: Copenhagen, Royal Library).



From the left:

Fig. 8C. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, fol. 138, det. [S1] Initial 'S', Jeanne de Montbaston (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

Fig. 8D. BL, MS Add. 16888, fol. 142, det. [N1] Initial 'Q', Jeanne de Montbaston (photo with permission © The British Library Board).

Fig. 8E. Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, fol. 1, det. [S1] Initial 'A', Jeanne de Montbaston (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

Chart 8. Jeanne and Richard de Montbaston, Paris, 1330–40, MSS [N1S17].



Fig. 9A. BnF fr. 25521, fol. 1, det. [N5] Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 9B. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, fol. 1, det. [S1] (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

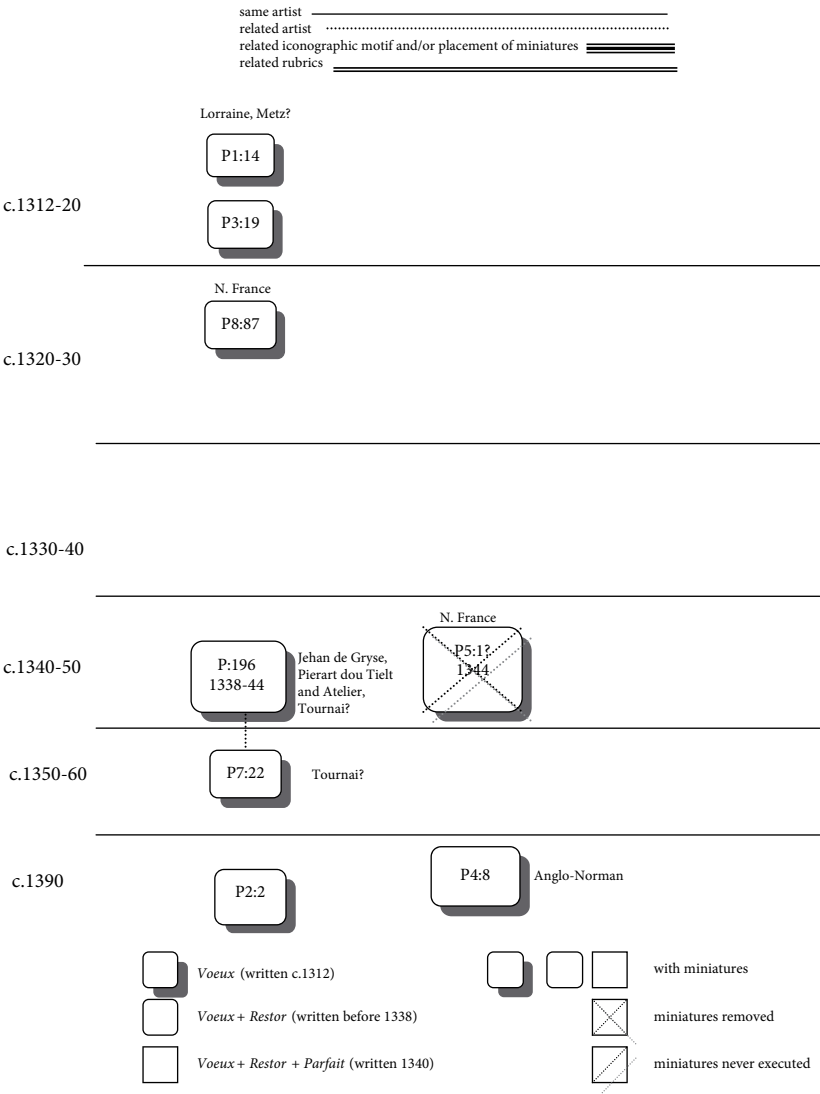
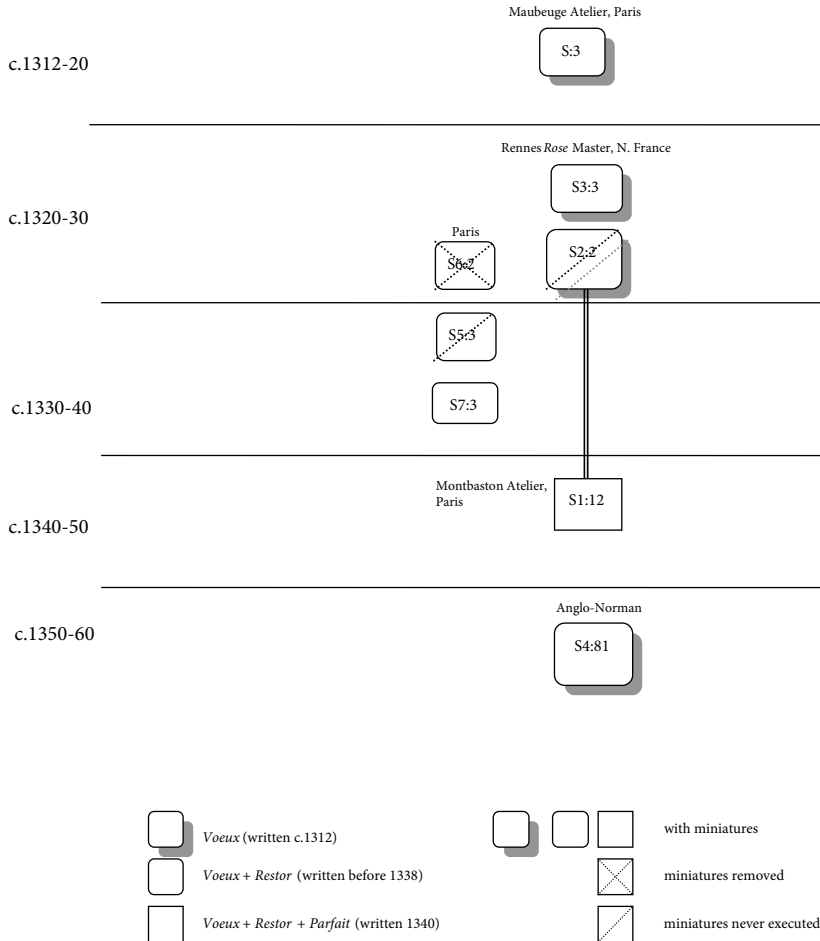


Chart 10. Fusion: *Voeux* [P] stemma (Casey).

have related rubrics. This leads back once more to the Maubeuge and Montbaston ateliers (Charts 7–9).³⁰

³⁰ Manuscript [U], although painted in a distinctive style found in Southwestern France, shares the same rubrics as the later Parisian manuscript [N₁]. Manuscript [U] also

related rubrics

Chart 11. Fusion: *Voeux* I [S] redaction (Magill).

opens with a composition shared by the Montbaston atelier. I thank François Avril for identifying the stylistic locale of this manuscript. Another connection is difficult to explain: manuscripts [S9] and [U] share opening initials with parted red and blue patterned letters filled with delicate red flourishing and outlined by light blue flourishing. See *Chrétien de Troyes*, vol. 2, figs. 67–68 and 81 for earlier examples.

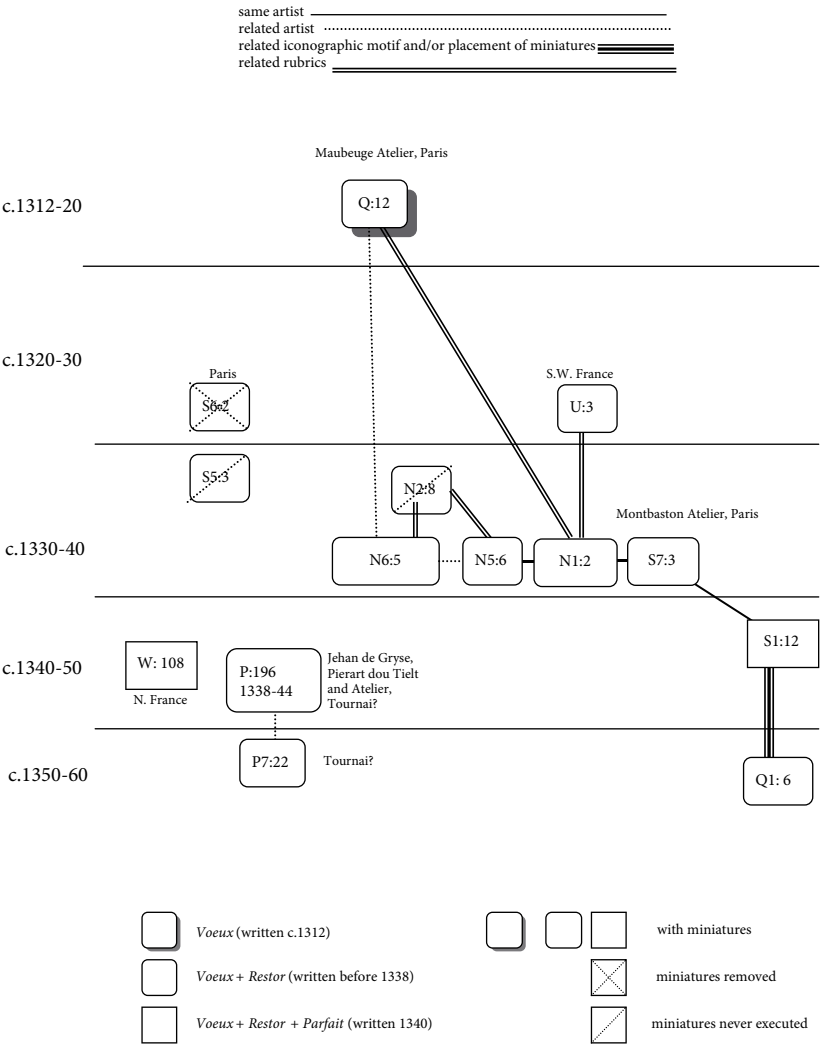


Chart 12. Fusion: *Restor* stemma (Donkin/Carey).

Marginal instructions survive in the Bodleian Alexander, Paris Alexander, and manuscript [S1].³¹ Of the Spencer Peacock [S4], which has eighty miniatures, I have written that:

³¹ For a brief discussion of the marginal instructions in the Paris Peacock, see Catalogue n. 19.

The artist's starting point was likely a numbered set of images, or written instructions, as the Roman numerals accompanying five miniatures and the four lines of illegible notation in the bas-de-page...indicate.³²

Complications in creating the layout for Peacock manuscripts arose due to the inclusion of more than one text. In the case of the *Voeux* and the *Restor*, parts I and II are conjoined variously: one after the other; dovetailed into each other; or either following or dovetailed into each other into the *Roman d'Alexandre*.³³

ILLUMINATING THE PEACOCK MANUSCRIPTS

The earliest illuminated Peacock manuscripts are contemporary with the composition of the *Voeux* (c. 1312–1313), and systematically emphasize dialogue and battle scenes. This is true of the heavily illuminated Douce Peacock of c. 1313 (fig. 1).³⁴ The Vatican Peacock has a seated (tonsured?) scribe who inhabits the large initial 'A'[près] which begins the *Voeux*

³² New York Public Library, MS Spencer 9. See my catalogue entry in *The Splendor of the Word: Medieval and Renaissance Illuminated Manuscripts at the New York Public Library*, exh. cat., eds. J.J.G. Alexander, James H. Marrow, and Lucy Freeman Sandler (London, 2005), cat. no. 90, pp. 386–389; p. 387, esp. n. 8.

³³ The addition of the *Parfait* contributes to another set of problematic issues dealing with the manner in which it was incorporated into the other poems. In manuscript [S1] and the Paris Peacock, the *Parfait* follows the *Restor*; in addition, the Paris Peacock is preceded by the *Prise de Defur*. Manuscript [U] has the *Fuerre de Gadres*, *Voeux* and *Restor*. The Bodleian Alexander and manuscripts [OQ] have the *Roman d'Alexandre*: in manuscript [O], the *Voeux* and *Restor* are at the end; in the Bodleian Alexander, both are inserted into the *Roman d'Alexandre*. In manuscript [Q] the *Voeux* is inserted, and the *Restor*, taken from another manuscript, is appended at the end. Manuscript [Q1] ends with a long, narrative poem by Guillaume de Machaut. There are two main redactions of the *Restor*: the entire poem, and an abridged version, sometimes called the *Pris des Veus*, with only Part II. Seven manuscripts have the complete version. The Glazier Peacock, Bodleian Alexander and manuscripts [N6P6] insert the *Restor* before the end of the *Voeux* and incorporate the remaining *Voeux* material into the *Restor*, whereas manuscripts [Q1S1] and the Paris Peacock complete the *Voeux* before beginning the *Restor*. The Bodleian Alexander stands alone frequently, based on variants: the scribe 'modernizes' archaic words. See *Restor* 2, pp. 27–29, which raises the question of Brisebarre himself as author of the 'performance' copy, which had been expunged in the beta redaction, all other than manuscript [P] or, less likely, a new author. Also see Markus Cruse, *Illuminating the 'Roman d'Alexandre': Oxford Bodleian MS Bodley 264* (Chicago, 2011), and idem, "The *Roman d'Alexandre* in MS Bodley 264: Text, Image, Performance," Ph.D. dissertation, New York University, 2004.

³⁴ For a comprehensive study of this manuscript, see Mary Atchison, *The Chansonier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (London, 2005).

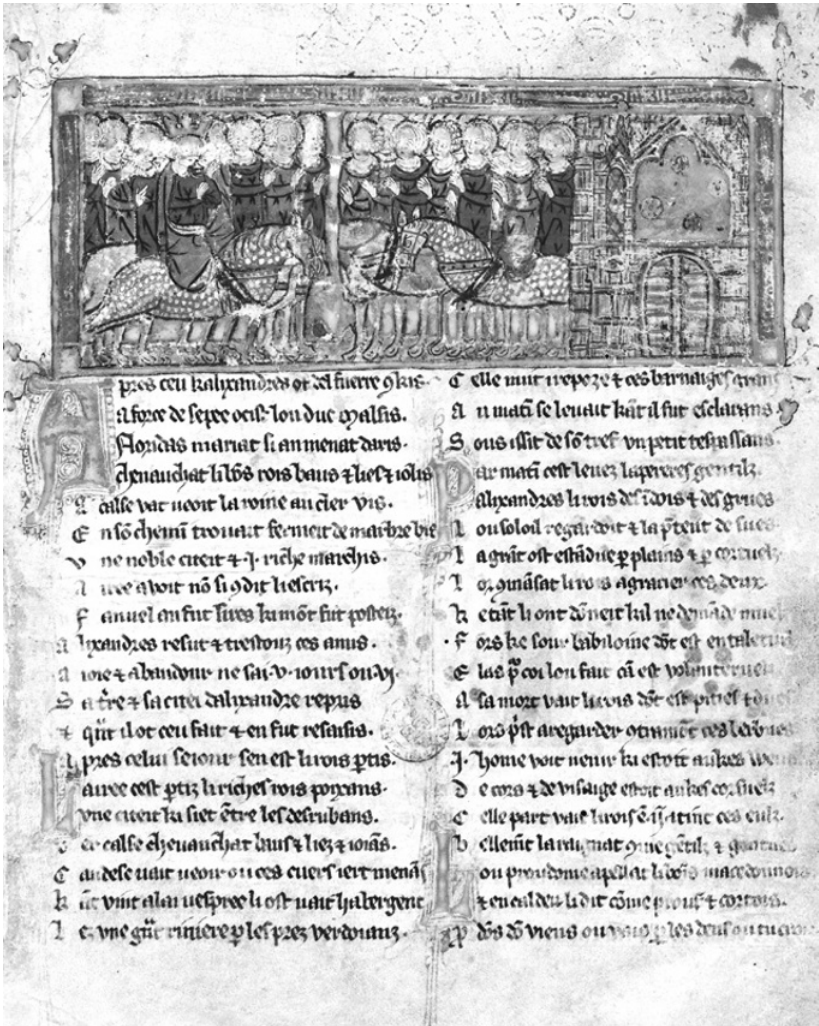


Fig. 1. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, The armies of Alexander and Cassamus meet (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

(figs. 2, 3). Although this could be construed as a generic author portrait, here it emphasizes the importance of an event which is worthy of or needs to be committed to writing. The Cologny Peacock has miniatures with more complex attention to detail. For example, the artist has carefully

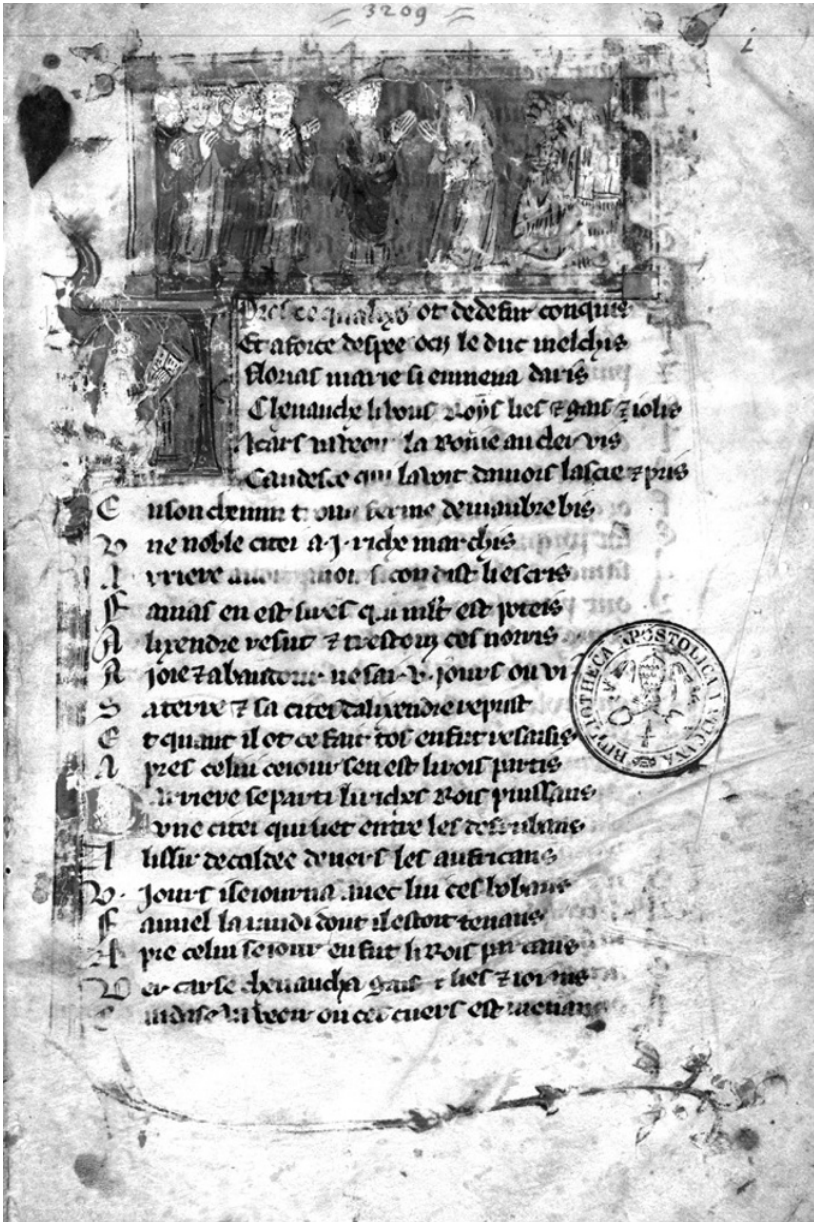


Fig. 2. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 3209, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Fig. 3. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS Vat. lat. 3209, *Roman d'Alexandre*, fol. 1, det., Author (?), writing or reading, in letter 'A' (photo with permission: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana).



Fig. 4. Paris, BnF fr. 790, *Roman d'Alexandre*, fol. 1, det., Aristotle teaching the young Alexander (photo with permission: BnF).

rendered the stonework and crenellation on the castle as well as the peacock's tail feathers on fol. 68v (fig. 5).³⁵

In manuscripts where the Peacock poems follow the *Roman d'Alexandre*, they extend the combination of exotic travel tales and chivalric didacticism. For example, in the opening image for the *Roman d'Alexandre* in manuscript [Q], fol. 1, a seated teacher, holding an upraised birch switch, speaks to a seated figure who has an open book, and to a group of standing clerics (fig. 4).³⁶ Mark Cruse writes convincingly that the seated figure is wearing a white student's cap, underlining the role of Alexander as clericus.³⁷ Above the miniature, the rubric reads, "Ci comence l'estoire d'Alixandre d'allier et y sont toutes les batailles qu'il fist et les veus du poon et les achievemens" (Here begins the story of Alexander's journeys and all the battles and the vows of the peacock and how they were fulfilled). Shaping the reader's reception, the opening lines of the text proclaim this to be a work of wisdom noteworthy as much for its entertainment value as for its moral kernel:

Qui vers de riche estoire veut entendre et oïr, / Por prendre bon essample de
proëce acueillir, / De conoistre raison d'amer et de haïr, / De ses amis garder
et chierement tenir, / Des enemis grever q'uns n'en puist eslargir, / Des lai-
dures vengier et des biens fais merir, / De haster qant lieus est et a terme
douffrire, / Oiés dont le premier bonement a loisir.³⁸
(*Le Roman d'Alexandre*, ll 1–8, branch I)

If you wish to hear and listen to a beautiful story in verse, to discover and welcome an excellent example of prowess, and to come to know reasons to love and to hate, how to protect and keep your friends dear, and so vex your enemies, not a one can take advantage, to avenge offenses and reward good deeds, to make haste when time and chance make that possible, listen attentively to the beginning of this poem!

³⁵ Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, MS Bodmer 189.

³⁶ BnF, ms. fr. 790, fol. 1. This is Aristotle teaching Alexander, who looks like a tonsured child (the manuscript is very rubbed). This imagery is related to personifications of Grammatica, one of the liberal arts, and is usually a woman holding an open book in one hand and an upraised switch in the other, about to discipline the unruly students who sit at her feet. See Laura Cleaver, "Grammar and Her Children: Learning to Read in the Art of the Twelfth Century," *Marginalia - The Journal of the Medieval Reading Group at Cambridge* vol. 9 (2010): <http://www.marginalia.co.uk/journal/ogeducation/cleaver.php> (Accessed 2011). On the iconography of teaching, see Joyce Coleman, *Public Reading and the Reading Public in Late Medieval England and France* (Cambridge, 1996).

³⁷ Cruse, *Illuminating the 'Roman d'Alexandre'*, 'Alexander as Clericus', pp. 127–136; on the cap, see p. 130.

³⁸ Alexandre de Paris, *Le Roman d'Alexandre*, ed. and trans. (into French; my trans. into English), Laurence Harf-Lancner (Paris, 1976).



Fig. 5. Coligny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, Codex Bodmer MS 189, fol. 68v, *Voëux du paon*, Porus kills the Peacock (photo with permission: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Coligny, Geneva).

The Peacock poems are in some cases part of *recueils*, paired with works of comparable subject matter. Manuscript [Q1], for example, includes French poet-composer Guillaume de Machaut's *Judgment of the King of Bohemia*.³⁹ In this case, both texts enshrine courtly, poetic values, using the chivalric paragons Alexander the Great and King Jean de Luxembourg. The images reinforce this connection by establishing a parallel between the generic representations of seated kings on the frontispieces. A later example pairs the *Sept Sages de Rome* with the *Voeux*, [P2].⁴⁰

In the Glazier Peacock, the *mise-en-page* creates the impression of one continuous text in multiple parts. Both the *Voeux* and *Restor* are in two parts, and initials highlight this division. The second part of the *Voeux* is marked by a six-line initial on fol. 42v with a pattern of interlaced sycamore leaves (fig. 6). The *Restor*, which has no miniatures, begins in the middle of fol. 102v with a four-line initial (fig. 7). In this poem, the artist continued the decorative treatment used in the *Voeux* until the final leaves, fols. 140–141v. At this point, it is abruptly replaced by delicate flourishing and simple, painted *laisse*-headers (figs. 8, 9).⁴¹

IMAGES, TEXTS, AND MARGINALIA

Thus far, I have explored systems of classification and analysis to approach the large and diverse corpus of illuminated Peacock poems. This technical undergirding permits me to focus on elements of this group as a whole and the Glazier Peacock in specific. In chapter one, I introduce the texts and the two authors, incorporating recent literary studies. This intersects with a discussion of patronage. One source derives from extant archival inventories of medieval libraries; it securely establishes a list of known patrons.

In chapter two, I introduce and contextualize the two artists who worked on the Glazier Peacock based on style. First, I present the artist who painted the twenty-two, high-quality miniatures and numerous marginalia, the Peacock Master. Second, I turn to the Scat Master, the artist

³⁹ BnF, mss. fr. 2165–2166. Peacock manuscript [Q1] is Machaut siglum [P]. See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1995), cat. 31, pp. 106–107, 207, and 216. For the text, see Guillaume de Machaut, *The Judgment of the King of Bohemia* (*Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*), ed. and trans. R. Barton Palmer (New York, 1984).

⁴⁰ BR MS 11191 (see fig. 108).

⁴¹ This change occurs at the beginning of a new gathering, of which fol. 141 was the first leaf. It seems that evaporated funding or time constraints forced the scribe, as in the preceding section, to execute decorative work at this point on his or her own.



Fig. 6. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 42v, det., A six-line initial marks the beginning of Part II of the *Voeux*, (photo with permission: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

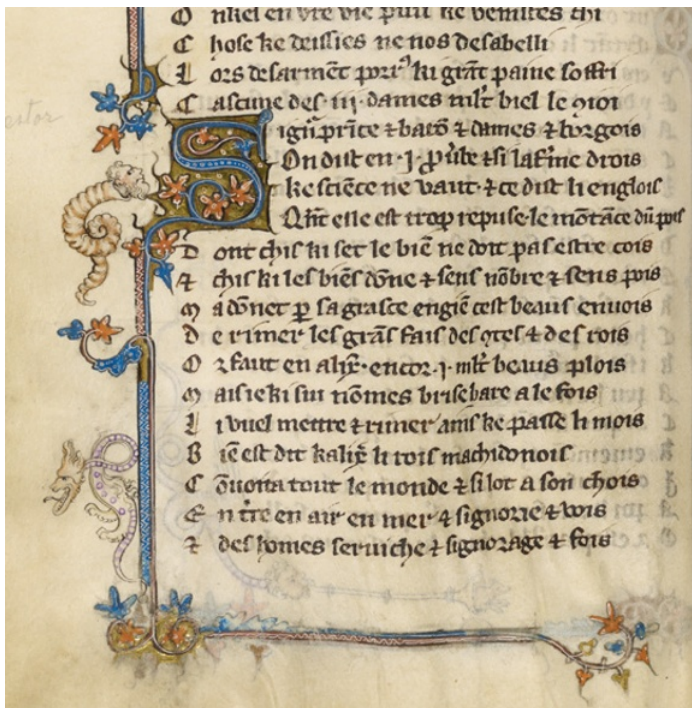


Fig. 7. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 102v, det., A four-line initial marks the beginning of the *Restor du paon* (photo with permission: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

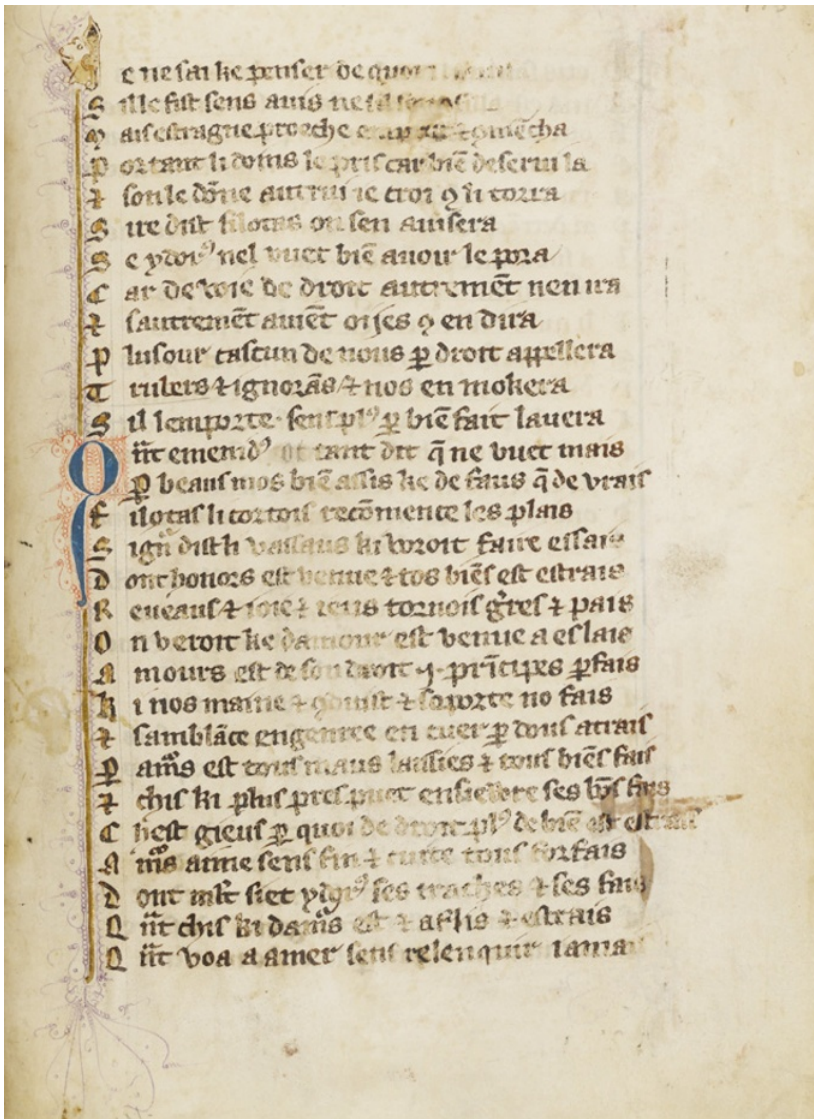


Fig. 8. PML, MS G24, *Restor du paon*, fol. 141 (photo with permission: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

who also painted a portion of the marginalia, but in a cruder style. This segues into a study of the miniatures in the third chapter. The Peacock Master's familiarity with the text(s) is impressive and, by the carefully calculated density of miniatures at key points, revealing. This begs the



Fig. 9. PML, MS G24, *Restor du paon*, fol. 141v, det., flourished initial (photo with permission: The Pierpont Morgan Library, New York).

answers to key questions. Who planned the insertion points for the miniatures? Who created the innovative iconography? Was there a list of subjects or a sketchbook by which the miniatures were transmitted?⁴²

The fourth chapter, devoted to the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock, is in two parts. I open with a historiography of studies on the subject which have fashioned my own methodology: my analysis begins with and encompasses the dynamic interaction (or lack thereof) of texts, images, and marginalia within the boundaries of this single manuscript.

The second part is an in-depth analysis of the marginalia. I explore them individually as possible iconographic units. To gain access to a greater understanding of the high number of scatological marginalia, I categorize and examine them as a group and then as part of a larger whole. I turn to contemporary literature such as fabliaux and proverbs for comparisons of the content and the way in which they are presented. The poetic genres of *fatras* and *fatrasies*, with their nonsensical patchwork of unrelated parts, provide the ideal comparison to hybrid creatures in the margins. Their oftentimes obscene yet comedic content also mirrors the marginalia. Reception, aside from an appreciation of the aesthetic value of the marginalia, demands a reconstruction of period comedy and laughter.⁴³

As I categorize larger themes, I confront a group of marginalia which mocks two fourteenth-century religious heresies: the Templars, who were accused of idol worship and sexually deviant initiation practices; and the appearance of flagellants at the time of the Bubonic Plague. I argue that as a group the marginalia form a gloss on the texts and miniatures based on their inverse relationship to Alexander the Great as cosmocrator.

To manage and classify the high number of marginalia in the Glazier Peacock I have created an Index of Marginalia.⁴⁴ Two appendices provide: a list of scatological proverbs (Appendix 2); and a check-list of illuminator Pierart dou Tielt's work (Appendix 3). Pierart painted parts of the Bodleian

⁴² On sketchbooks in general, see Robert W. Scheller, *Exemplum: Model-Book Drawings and the Practice of Artistic Transmission in the Middle Ages (c. 900 – c. 1450)*, trans. Michael Hoyle (Amsterdam, 1995); and Carl F. Barnes, Jr., *The Portfolio of Villard de Honnecourt, A New Critical Edition and Color Facsimile* (Farnham, 2009). For an analysis of transmission in a Peacock manuscript, see my catalogue entry, *The Splendor of the Word*, cat. no. 90.

⁴³ On this subject, see Herman Braet, "Entre folie et raison: les drôleries du BnF ms. fr. 25526," in Werner Verbeke, Herman Braet, and Guido Latré, eds., *Risus Mediaevalis: Laughter in Medieval Literature and Art*, (= *Medievalia Lovaniensia*, vol. 1/300) (Louvain, 2003), pp. 43–74; and Philippe Ménard, "Les illustrations marginales du 'Roman d'Alexandre' (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264)," pp. 75–118.

⁴⁴ References are by folio.

Alexander, which includes the Peacock poems. He is useful as a touchstone because many of his works have secure dates.

The final part of this book comprises a detailed Concordance and a Catalogue of all illuminated Peacock manuscripts. The latter permits access to succinct descriptions of them, many of which are poorly known, and provides a means of following the complexity of both the poems and miniatures. Aside from the Glazier Peacock, I pay particular attention to the artists, iconography, and possible patrons of the Bodleian Alexander and the Paris Peacock.⁴⁵ For the Glazier Peacock and Bodleian Alexander catalogue entries I provide charts of artist participation in relation to the codicological structure (Charts 13 and 14). In addition, the Concordance, which shows insertion points and rubrics, fosters and facilitates interdisciplinary work on this enormous body of information.⁴⁶

The two final sections establish the Glazier Peacock's place within a group of manuscripts illuminated in Northern France and the Lowlands (Appendices 4, 5). This is based on the extensive charts I created to document the appearance and density of proverb- and/or obscenae-related motifs in other manuscripts (and misericords) which pre-date, are contemporaneous with, or closely post-date the Glazier Peacock. The charts definitively demonstrate that the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock are unique: they at once reference and consistently deride heresies – be they real or imaginary.

⁴⁵ The Paris Peacock, despite its dense, high-quality miniatures and rich iconographic program, has received no substantial art historical analysis. My methodology of necessity dovetails into the work of literary historian Hélène Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*, which focuses on the Paris Peacock.

⁴⁶ Since I began this study, many of the manuscripts have been digitized and I document this where necessary (and possible) in the catalogue and bibliography. The primary sites are: <http://www.mandragore.bnf.fr/html>; <http://www.gallica.bnf.fr>; <http://www.europeanaregia.eu/en/historical-collections/library-charles-v-family>; and The Medieval Alexander Project, <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/Alexander/alexhomepage.html>.

CHAPTER ONE

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: TEXTS, AUTHORS, AND PATRONS

*Jacques [de Longuyon's] poem betrays...a distinguishing quality: idyllic courtesy. It is a narrative in which chivalry triumphs without Christianity, Celtic mythology, or magic. Instead, courtesy reigns, evil is defeated, and the protagonists play games...amidst women, whom they later marry.*¹

The Glazier Peacock has attracted the attention of art historians over the years for the beauty of its miniatures and its scurrilous marginalia.² For these very qualities it has appeared in a number of major exhibitions. But to date, no detailed study of the manuscript as a whole has been undertaken. And no one study examines the interaction of its full contents: miniatures, texts, and marginalia.

The Glazier Peacock includes two poems: *Les vœux du paon* (The Vows of the Peacock)³ and *Le restor du paon* (The Restoration of

¹ John L. Grigsby, *The Gab a Latent Genre in Medieval French Literature: Drinking and Boasting in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 2000), p. 202.

² See Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge: Margins of Medieval Art* (London, 1992). Two exhibition catalogues are: *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1550*, exh. cat., eds. Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedemann (Los Angeles, 2010), no. 65, pp. 305–308; and Paris, Galleries nationales du Grand Palais, *Les Fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V*, exh. cat., (Paris, 1981), François Avril, catalogue entries for illuminated manuscripts, pp. 302 and 349. The Glazier Peacock is reproduced in full on the Pierpont Morgan Library's database, *Corsair*: http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=8&ti=1,8&Search%5FArg=vœux%20paon&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=Dwd-svkFeA-dzENd_ggA4xsR619I&SEQ=20120917125026&SID=2.

³ Ritchie 1 has an invaluable summary in English of the entire poem. Other summaries can be found in three publications: *Imagining the Past*, pp. 305–308; Sotheby's, *Bibliotheca Philippica, Medieval Manuscripts*, new series, part XI. London, (1976), lot 866, pp. 34–36, with synopsis and color figs. (now Beinecke Library, MS 613 [S10]); Sotheby's, *The Beck Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts*, New York, 1997, lot 17, pp. 139–144, has an extensive description by Christopher de Hamel of manuscript [S9], including detailed information on contents and provenance, now Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 189. Hélène Bellon-Méguelle wrote the Fondation's e-codices 2007 entry, www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/cb/0189, (accessed 2011). An important source referencing the Glazier Peacock is *Vœux* (1954); for another source of bibliography for the entire Peacock Cycle, see John L. Grigsby, trans., and Norris J. Lacy, ed., *The Vows of the Heron (Les Vœux du héron) A Middle French Vowing Poem*, (New York, 1992). For a helpful synopsis of the *Vœux* (which includes an analysis of the vowing), see Grigsby, *The Gab*, Chapter 6, 'Crystallizations: 1) The *Vœux du Paon*', pp. 185–204. For an expansive discussion of the authors, patrons, and texts (centering on MS [W]),

the Peacock).⁴ They are the first and second parts of the so-called 'Peacock Cycle'. These inter-related tales elaborate on the fictional exploits of Alexander the Great as recounted in the late twelfth-century *Roman d'Alexandre*.⁵

THE *VOEUX DU PAON*

Poet Jacques de Longuyon, (from Longuyon, Meurthe-et-Moselle, in the Lorraine region) composed the first text, the *Voeux*, between 1312 and 1313.⁶ It was dedicated to Thibaut de Bar, bishop of Liège from 1303–1312 (c. 1260–1312), son of Thibaut II, Count of Bar (1221–1291).⁷ As the number of extant illuminated manuscripts makes clear, the *Voeux* became popular very quickly and remained so throughout the fourteenth century.⁸

The *Voeux* interrupts the *Roman d'Alexandre* and recounts how Alexander the Great meets an old knight, Cassamus, who entreats his aid in a battle. Central to the story is a banquet where vows are made over a peacock: nine knights vow to perform chivalric feats, two ladies to marry, and one lady to restore the peacock in gold. After a series of battles, the *Voeux* ends with festivities for five marriages, after which Alexander takes up his journey to Babylon.

see Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*. A reliable source of information on the Peacock Cycle manuscripts is, "The Medieval Alexander Project: Alexander the Great in Medieval Literature and Culture," created by Emily Rebekah Huber. The section entitled 'The Medieval French Tradition', one of the many bibliographies available on this website, is extremely useful. It is a part of "The Camelot Project at The University of Rochester": <http://www.lib.rochester.edu/camelot/>, (accessed January 2011). The DLF has helpful entries with bibliographies for the authors and texts.

⁴ For the Bodleian Alexander redaction, see Restor 2. The line-by-line concordance on file at the Pierpont Morgan Library is based on the Paris Peacock: Restor 1.

⁵ Alexandre de Paris, *Le Roman d'Alexandre*. For a text-image analysis of the *Roman d'Alexandre* manuscripts, see Busby, *Codex and Context*, pp. 278–327. Busby, p. 318, briefly discusses the Glazier Peacock. See pp. 316–321 for Busby's study of Peacock manuscripts within the broader context of Alexander Romance manuscripts.

⁶ These dates, specifically after May 1312 and September 1313, are taken from ARLIMA, (Archives de littérature du moyen âge), http://www.arlima.net/il/jacques_de_longuyon.html. Revisionist writings question if Longuyon is, indeed, the author of the *Voeux*: Busby, *Codex and Context*; Grigsby, *The Gab*; and Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*.

⁷ For an entry on de Longuyon's work and extensive bibliography, see ARLIMA, (accessed 2011). Other sources of information on the authors of the Peacock Cycle and the poems themselves can be found in: the DLF; Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*; and Margue, "Voeux du paon."

⁸ The earliest list is Ritchie 1, pp. xlii–xlvii. D.J.A. Ross, *Alexander Historiatus: A Guide to Medieval Illustrated Alexander Literature*, 2nd ed. (Frankfurt, 1988), pp. 14–16, provides a checklist of illustrated manuscripts of the *Voeux*, *Restor*, and *Parfait*. Both are now outdated.

The following table lays out the complete vows in the order in which they were given at the feasting table in the Glazier Peacock (Chart 15).⁹ Due to lacunae and/or omission, five (underlined / *italic*) miniatures of the key vows made at the table are absent.

<u>Character</u>	<u>Miniature</u>	<u>Vow</u>
1. Cassamus	(fol. 86)	to aid Clarus
2. Aristé	(fol. 86v)	to defend Fésonas
3. Perdicas	(fol. 82v)	to fight on foot
4. <u>Fésonas</u>	<u>[omitted?]</u>	<u>to accept Alexander as matchmaker</u>
5. Porrus	(fol. 80v)	to win the battle, to joust with Emenidus, and to steal his charger
6. <u>Édéa</u>	<u>[omitted?]</u>	<u>to restore the peacock</u>
7. The Baudrain	(fol. 88)	to seize Alexander's sword
8. Caulus	(fol. 88v)	to tear off the Baudrain's helmet and to recover Alexander's sword
9. <u>Ydorus</u>	<u>[omitted?]</u>	<u>to be a faithful lover</u>
10. Lyoné	(fol. 55)	to joust with Clarus' eldest son, Canaan
11. <u>Floridas</u>	<u>[Lacuna]</u>	<u>to avenge the Baudrain's seizure of Alexander's sword</u>
12. <u>Gadifer</u>	<u>[Lacuna]</u>	<u>to destroy Clarus' battle standard</u>

Chart 15. The Vows and Their Accomplishment in the Glazier Peacock.

⁹ The subject descriptions are quoted in abbreviated form from Grigsby, *The Gab*, p. 197. The order in which the vows were accomplished is *not* that given at the table. The emphases and speculation about missing miniatures are mine.

THE *RESTOR* AND *PARFAIT DU PAON*

The *Restor*, written before 1338 by Jean Brisebarre from Douai (died c. 1340?), is appended to the *Voeux* in sixteen manuscripts. Seven have miniatures for the *Restor*. In one, the miniatures were removed.¹⁰ Two have unpainted spaces; two more mark the beginning with large initials. The *Restor* extends the action of the *Voeux* by explaining how the vow to recreate the peacock in gold is fulfilled and how two more marriages take place.¹¹ The poem ends by rejoining the action of the *Voeux*. The final poem in the Peacock Cycle is not in the Glazier Peacock. It is, however, an important testimony to the enduring popularity of the first two poems in the Peacock Cycle. *Le parfait du paon*, (The Fulfillment/Perfection of the Peacock) was written by the Hainaut-born Jean de le Mote in 1340.¹² His patron was the royal goldsmith, Simon de Lille (d. 1348).¹³ As the *Restor* is inserted into the *Voeux*, so in turn, the *Parfait* is dovetailed into the *Restor*. Claiming that Brisebarre had omitted an important part of the story, de le Mote elaborates on previous battle scenes and presents another poetic debate. Two manuscripts preserve this poem, the Paris Peacock – with 108 miniatures – and [S1] (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley Douce 165), with twelve miniatures.

ESTABLISHING PATRONAGE

In a search for the patron(ess)es and/or owners of the Glazier Peacock, it is important to note that de le Mote worked for royalty. *Li Regret Guillaume*, written in 1339, has survived in BnF, nouv. acq. fr. MS 7415, fols. 1–33. “This poem is a eulogy of Guillaume, the late count of Hainaut, dedicated to his daughter, Phillippa, Queen of England, and is cast in the form of a love allegory.”¹⁴ The presence of illumination here, even if only an opening

¹⁰ Restor 2, p. 16, proposes a date of c. 1330.

¹¹ Important elements are an exotic account of the early life of Alexander’s lieutenant Emenidus and a poetic debate on the respective merits of the vows.

¹² Sometimes spelled Jean de la Mote.

¹³ *Parfait*, pp. 806–807, writes that “Jean worked for Queen Philippa of England, daughter of the count of Hainaut, in 1339, composing rhyming couplets for a sculptural program; he is perhaps to be identified with a cleric of the Hainaut chancellery mentioned in 1325–26.” Also, see V. Hands, “*Le Parfait du Paon*. A Fourteenth-Century Poem by Jehan de le Mote,” Ph.D. dissertation, University of London (1957); I have not consulted this work.

¹⁴ Maureen Boulton, *The Song in the Story: Lyric Insertions in French Narrative Fiction, 1200–1400* (Philadelphia, 1993), p. 263; on the *Parfait*, p. 128, n. 14 (brief plot summary), and p. 296; on the *Regret Guillaume*, pp. 263–266, 292, and 296. The *Regret* is paired with the *Chatelain de Couci*.

miniature, demonstrates its importance for its patron(ess) and/or destinateur. The illuminator fashionably executed the opening miniature for the *Regret*, on fol. 1, in grisaille. It shows Jehan, the narrator, meeting dame Débonnaireté at the gate of a castle. The rubric reads:

Chi commencent li Regret de Guillaume le conte de Haynnau pere a le roynne d'Engleterre et a le contesse de Julers.

Here begins the 'Regret' of Guillaume, the Count of Hainaut and father of the Queen of England and the Countess de Julers.

The explicit, on fol. 33, reads:

Ce songe contai a ma dame,/ Cui Jhesus sauve corps et ame,/ Qui est roÿnne d'Engletiere./ Celle me commanda grant ierre/ Que aucun traitié en fesiss/ Sans plus à ce songe propisse./ Et jou volentiers l'acordai:/ Ce traitié sans plus fait en ai,/ Lequel je voel rimmer tout noef,/ L'an mil .iij^e. et trente noef./ Dieus doinst qu'il plaise a[s] escoutans,/ Car je cuide et [je] sui creans/ Que pas n'ai dit tant de viertus/ Don't li frans princes n'euïst plus;/ Pour verité le vous affinne/ JEHANS DE LE MOTTE, qui finne/ Che traité; qui l'avés oÿ,/ Priyés tout pour l'ame de li!/ Amen. Explicit (Scheler, ll. 4564–4582)¹⁵

I recounted this dream to my lady, the Queen of England – may Jesus guard her, body and soul! – who commanded me to promptly stop all other writing and devote myself to treating this dream. I willingly agreed and, adding nothing, set it down in rhymes in 1339. May God grant that it please listeners, for, I believe, I have not exaggerated concerning the prince's virtues. JEHANS DE LE MOTTE, in finishing up, tells you that this is true. All you who have heard this work pray for his soul! Amen. The End.¹⁶

The majority of extant Peacock manuscripts have no securely recorded patronage; oftentimes this element must remain hypothetical. There is, however, an indication of a performance for an audience and/or reader. This element has fascinated scholars such as Joyce Coleman, who explores

¹⁵ Auguste Scheler, ed., *Li regret Guillaume comte de Hainaut* (Louvain, 1882).

¹⁶ In this little-known poem, the author recounts a dream wherein, having just finished composing a chanson amoureuse, he leaves to enter the piece in a puy d'amour. He is distracted by music which leads him to a castle where he also hears wailing and moaning. He calls repeatedly for someone to let him enter, and finally a woman with a tear-stained face explains that the castle is in mourning over Guillaume's death. She leads the narrator to a hole in the wall through which he sees twenty-nine women, allegories of virtues, who bemoan Guillaume's death. Subsequently Débonnaireté leaves the narrator to join the others and to begin her complaint; the narrator listens from outside and presents the reader with a recount of the thirty complaints or regrets, each ending in a ballade or chanson. He awakens and rushes to tell his lady the Queen of the dream; she, in turn, asks him to put it into writing. See Scheler, *Li regret Guillaume*, pp. x-xii.

the iconography of reading, teaching, and auralty; and Evelyn Birge Vitz, who works with narratology and performance theory.¹⁷

In “a rare address to the public”¹⁸ the authors of the *Restor* and *Parfait* begin their tales respectively by addressing: “*Seignor, prince et baron et dames et bourgeois...*” (Lords, princes and barons and ladies and bourgeois...), on fol. 189; and “*Seignuour, roy, prinche et conte, chevalier et baron / Bourgeois, canoine, prestre, gent de religion...*” (Lords, kings, princes and counts, knights and barons, bourgeois, nuns, priests, religious...), on fol. 233v (figs. 10, 11).¹⁹ There is also an internal reference to a king in the *Parfait*: “*Li rois em prist copie [of the new ballades] car bonnez sont et bellez...*” (The king took a copy of the new ballades because they are well-made and beautiful), (*Parfait*, l. 1517).²⁰

Many of these manuscripts belonged to well-known aristocrats. Of the rich cache of illuminated manuscripts, art historians have only studied two of the most lavish copies in depth: the Douce Peacock, perhaps the earliest, and the Bodleian Alexander, which likely belonged to English royalty.²¹ Known patrons of Peacock manuscripts,²² which for the most part have been lost or destroyed, include:

¹⁷ See Coleman, *Public Reading*, and eadem, “The Text Recontextualized in Performance: Deschamps’ Prelection of Machaut’s *Voir Dit* to the Count of Flanders,” *Viator* 31 (2000), pp. 233–48. Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Freeman Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, eds., *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Cambridge, 2005); Evelyn Birge Vitz, *Orality and Performance in Early French Romance* (Woodbridge, 1999), and eadem with Marilyn Lawrence, “Performing Medieval Narrative Today: A Video Showcase,” New York University Digital Studio: <http://www.nyu.edu/projects/mednar/> Relunched January 2008.

¹⁸ Grigsby, *The Gab*, p. 203.

¹⁹ Restor I, line 1, BnF ms. fr. 12565, fol. 189; *Parfait*, lines 1–2, BnF ms. fr. 12565.

²⁰ See Grigsby, *The Gab*, p. 203, who comments on the passage. For an idea of possible patrons, see Alain Derville, “Les élites urbaines en Flandre et en Artois,” in *Les élites urbaines au Moyen Age* (Paris, 1997).

²¹ See Cruse, *Illuminating the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’*. I am grateful to Mark for sharing his work with me over the years. I will be referring to Oxford, Bodleian Douce 308, known to Peacock scholars by the siglum [P1], as the Douce Peacock. For additional information on illuminated Alexander manuscripts, see Alison Stones, “Notes on Three Illustrated Alexander Manuscripts,” in *Alexander and the Medieval Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of D.J.A. Ross*, eds. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, and Claire Isoz (New York, 1982), pp. 193–254; and Stones and Ross, “The *Roman d’Alexandre* in French Prose: Another Illustrated Manuscript from Champagne or Flanders, c. 1300,” *Scriptorium* 56 (2002), pp. 151–162.

²² See Patricia Stirnemann, “Les bibliothèques princières et privées aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles,” in *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, ed. André Vernet, vol. 1, Les bibliothèques médiévales: VIe siècle–1530 (Paris, 1989), pp. 172–191, esp. pp. 184–188; Françoise Robin, “Le luxe des collections aux XIVe et XVe siècles,” in Vernet, *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, pp. 193–213. For studies on Tournai in particular, see Geneviève Hasenohr, “L’essor des bibliothèques privées aux XIVe et XVe siècles,” in Vernet, *Histoire des bibliothèques françaises*, pp. 214–263, see esp. p. 231, n. 150, where Hasenohr discusses the percentage of books mentioned in testaments in Tournai in the context of France/Lowlands.



Fig. 10. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Restor du paon*, fol. 189, det., A man reading the beginning of the *Restor* from a book to a group of standing people (photo with permission: BnF).

1. Thibaut (or Thiébaud) de Bar, bishop of Liège from 1302–1312 (son of Thibaut II, Count de Bar, c. 1219–1296, brother of Henri III, Count de Bar, 1259–1302, and Renaud de Bar, bishop of Metz from 1302–1316);
2. Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (1293–1348) and her mother Mahaut, Countess of Artois and Burgundy (1268–1329);
3. Simon de Lille, royal goldsmith;²³

She cites the work of A. de la Grange, *Choix de testaments tournaisiens antérieurs au XVI^e siècle* (Tournai, 1897), who gives the following number: 17% (fourteenth century). For a discussion of patronage at this time, see Alison Stones, “The Illustrations of BnF, fr. 95 and Yale 229: Prolegomena to a Comparative Analysis,” in *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature*, ed. Keith Busby (New York, 1996), pp. 203–283, esp. pp. 231–234. On Godefroid de Naast, who owned a copy of the *Voeux*, documented in an inventory of 1337, see Busby, *Codex and Context*, vol. II, p. 645, and the more expansive work on de Naast’s collection, Colette Van Coolput-Storms, “Entre Flandre et Hainaut: Godefroid de Naast (?-1337) et ses livres,” *Le Moyen Age CXIII* (2007), pp. 529–547.

²³ See Rouse (1997), pp. 281–303, for information on the patron (Simon de Lille, *orfèvre du roi*), the poet (Jean de le Mote) and the artist (Jeanne de Montbaston, p. 283). Jeanne



Fig. 11. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Parfait du paon*, fol. 233v, det., This image marks the beginning of the *Parfait*, where a seated king speaks to high-ranking members of society (photo with permission: BnF).

4. King Charles V of France (1338–1380);
5. Marguerite de Flandre (1350–1405);
6. Francesco Gonzaga (1366–1407);
7. King Charles VI of France (1368–1422);²⁴
8. John of Lancaster, 1st Duke of Bedford and Regent of France (1389–1435);²⁵

painted three *Paon* manuscripts: BL, Add. 16888 [N1]; BnF fr. 25521 [N5]; and Oxford, Bodleian, Douce 165 [S1]. The Rouses write, p. 292, that “The king’s goldsmith Simon de Lille...was an exceptionally wealthy and powerful man, the embodiment of the term *haute bourgeoisie*.” They speculate that, p. 296, as in the *Restor* and *Parfait*, Simon de Lille crafted an actual golden, gem-encrusted peacock. It may have been the one used by King Jean le Bon for the ‘the peacock feast’, p. 299 and n. 79.

²⁴ See the catalogue entry for Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1554 [N2].

²⁵ Christopher de Hamel, Sotheby’s, New York, 1997, pp. 4–5, writes that “The [style] recurs very similarly in a well-defined group of books associated with Renaud de Bar, bishop of Metz, and with his sister Marguerite de Bar, abbess of St-Maur in Verdun. The association with them is tantalizing, for their elder brother was Thibaut de Bar, bishop of Liège, original dedicatee of the *Voeux*. This manuscript [Beinecke Peacock] must belong

9. The House of Savoy (Filippo II, 1438–1497, or Filiberto II, 1528–1580);
10. Godefroid de Naast (d. 1377).

The Cologny Peacock is very important because the original owners (not necessarily the patrons) are known via inscriptions on fols. 146v–147v. These record the birth of the children of Guillaume de Rosay and Philliberde de Merin.

Christopher de Hamel has suggested that the Beinecke Peacock is stylistically related to a group of early-fourteenth-century manuscripts that were made in Metz and Verdun under the aristocratic patronage of the de Bar and Aspremont families. Although this argument is not entirely convincing, de Hamel's identification of a large, stylistically interconnected group is useful. Michel Margue's extensive research on the *Voeux* provides a solid foundation for further inquiries into the origin and function of the images and texts.²⁶

In *Manuscripts and Their Makers*,²⁷ Richard Rouse and Mary Rouse, addressing commissions and patronage for a *Voeux* manuscript, have tracked the career of the illuminator Thomas de Maubeuge:

In 1313 Thomas [de Maubeuge] sold to Mahaut [d'Artois] two works in French, a collection of saints' lives and the *Voeux du paon*. Its author Jacques de Longuyon did not complete the *Voeux du paon* until sometime after May 1312, so Thomas's sale to Mahaut in 1313 represents the earliest witness to the work's existence, as well as to its dissemination.²⁸

The relatively late Paris Peacock is of particular importance because of its contents – the entire Peacock Cycle – secure provenance, and wealth of miniatures. It is the sole Peacock Cycle manuscript to bear the names of the author of and patron for the *Voeux*, which are incorporated into the end of the poem. On fol. 188v, the scribe of the *Voeux* wrote:

Jacques de Langhion define ci ses dis/ Qui fu de Loherainne, .i. moult joieus
pay's/ Qui au conmant Tybaut, que de Bar fu naÿs,/ Rimoia ceste ystoire, qui
bele est a devis;/ Tybaus fu mors a Ronme avoec .i. Lembourgis/ Qui empe-
reres ert, si ot a nom Henris,/ De Luxembourg fu quens et chevaliers eslis./

very closely within the circle of Thibaut de Bar himself, and may even have belonged to the bishop or be a copy presented by him or circulated under his influence." Metz, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 43; Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, *Missal of Renaud de Bar*, MS 98; BL Yates Thompson, MS 8, *Breviary of Renaud de Bar* (first part) + Verdun, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 107, *Breviary of Renaud de Bar*, (second part); and BnF, ms. lat. 1029A, *Breviary of Marguerite de Bar*.

²⁶ Michel Margue, "Voeux du paon," pp. 17–22.

²⁷ Rouse (2000).

²⁸ *Ibid.*, vol. 1, pp. 178–179, n. 39; see the extant Quittance, dated 1313, fig. 92.

Jacobin preëcheur, (qui soient tous honnis!),/ Le firent par poison morir,
dont il est pis/ A tous bons crestiens, et a tout par païs./ Diex en puisse avoir
l'ame, par les soies mercis,/ Et de Tybaut aussi, qui gais ert et jolis,/ Et gentis
de lignage, corageus et hardis,/ Et tint moult bien son droit, contre tout ses
marcis,/ Tant qu'il fu audessus de tous ses/ Cil me nomma l'ystoire, qui bele
est a devis. (Ritchie, ll. 8769–8784)

Jacques de Longuyon finishes his dit here. He was from Lorraine, a most joyous country. At the command of Thibaut de Bar he rhymed this beautiful story. Thibaut died at Rome with a Limbourgeois (sic)²⁹ named Henry who was elected Emperor. He was Count of Luxembourg and a knight. Jacobin Preachers [Dominicans] (may they all be shamed!) killed him with poison, a misfortune for all good Christians in every country. May God take possession of his soul through his mercy, and that of Thibaut, too, who was lively and handsome, and from a noble family, courageous and strong, and he upheld all his rights against his marquis, overcoming his enemies; he suggested this beautiful story to me.

In addition, the author's name for the *Parfait* appears in the initials for the poem's final verses.³⁰ The *Parfait* in the Paris Peacock reads:

Car pas ne resambloient li prince souffissant/ les fols meleureus qui sont
non entendant/ qui se vont des faiseurs par le pais moquant/ et si appellent
rusez leur ouvrage poissant/ Tels gens he et harrai le cours de mon vivant/
Quar qui iroit tres bien le fait considerant,/ il y a moult de bien et de sens
appendant/ Et encore plus di et vois certefiant/ que tout la plus soutil oevre,
soiez creant,/ qui soit, et mains prisie; las! j'en ay cuer dolant...Mes maistres
por qui je fai cesti roumant / li boins Symons de Lille-ou Dix face garant! -/
n'est pas de ciex moqueurs comme j'ai dit devant/ Anchois ainme le fait -
bien est apparissant -/ quant il me livre vivre, chambre et clerc escribant/
pour faire li biax dis; d'el ne le vois servant/ et certez je li vois de joieus cuer
faisant/ et j'espoir, se Dieu plest, le pere tuit poissant/ que des biens me fera
ains qu'il voit defaillant/ Dix li doinst bonne vie! De li lairay atant. (*Parfait*,
ll. 1442–1459)

These ignorant wretches who go about the country mocking “faiseurs” [composers of poetry] and call their powerful works crafty, are nothing like the noble prince. I hate and always shall hate these people for whoever would

²⁹ Nancy Regalado, private communication, mentioned that Henry of Luxembourg being referred to as a Limbourgeois is confusing unless one of his titles was Duke of Limbourg. At this date Limbourg belonged to the Duchy of Brabant.

³⁰ Manuscript [S1], the only other copy of the *Parfait*, lacks its final leaves. F.T.H. Fletcher, pp. 19–30, *Étude sur la langue des 'Voeux du Paon'* (Paris, 1924), writes that, “The dialect is purged no doubt of some of Jacques' local peculiarities and made to conform more closely with standard French by a scribe of North or Northeast France between 1340–70.” Ritchie 1, p. xlviii, remarks that “The personal details in the colophon suggest an author's copy sent to his patron's next of kin, possibly his brother Renaud de Bar, Bishop of Metz (d.1316).”

consider the body of work carefully would say that it was among the most subtle yet least valued, and for this, alas, my heart sorrows ... But my master, the good Simon de Lille, for whom I compose this romance – as God is my witness - is nothing like these mockers. It's clear that I love it when he provides me with what I need to live: room, board and a clerk to write down my beautiful dits! I enjoy working for him and hope that if God is pleased, the Father almighty, that he'll support me until he can no longer. God grant him a good long life! I have no more to say about him now.

CHAPTER TWO

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: ARTISTS

*The [Glazier Peacock] has many pointless revisions...Indeed it is so heavily and unintelligently revised in some parts that large passages of it seem to be merely a paraphrase of the text presented by the other manuscripts.*¹

Despite the apparently poor quality of the texts, the Glazier Peacock stands out among the illuminated Peacock manuscripts because of its twenty-two, high-quality miniatures and exceptionally dense group of ribald marginalia (figs. 12–33, color plates 1–22).²

The scholarly consensus for the date and locale of the Glazier Peacock is c. 1350, Tournai.³ This is borne out in a general sense by the picardisms in the texts. The subject matter of the marginalia permit further speculation

¹ Restor 2, pp. 29, 32–33, presents various stemmata for the *Restor* group, “P6 [and the Glazier Peacock] have many readings in common, supporting [the Bodleian Alexander]... less the case with P6; both omit a number of lines, The Glazier Peacock more so.”

² See the Index of Marginalia.

³ The style of painting (including costume, spatial treatment, experimentation with modeling, and the type of initials and foliate bar-extendors) is consistent with examples painted in France or Flanders in the region of Tournai. John Plummer, *Manuscripts from the William S. Glazier Collection* (New York, 1959), pp. 30–31, dated the Glazier Peacock to c. 1350. He localized it to Northern France or Flanders, comparing it to the Bodleian Alexander and, for “some elements in the grotesque and earthy repertoire” of the marginalia to near contemporary North French work. François Avril mentions the Glazier Peacock in “Un chef d’oeuvre de l’enluminure sous la règne de Jean le Bon: *La Bible moralisée*, manuscrit français 167 de la Bibliothèque nationale,” *Fondation Eugène Piot: Monuments et memoires publiés par l’Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*, 58 (1972), pp. 91–125, p. 115; Avril, in a catalogue entry on the Glazier Peacock, *Les fastes du gothique*, p. 349, mentions Tournai as the possible center of origin. He praises the animation and verve of the miniatures, describing their style as characteristic of the Picard trend which was dominant around the middle of the fourteenth century within the confines of Hainaut and the county of Flanders. He names Pierart dou Tielt of Tournai who shares a frank approach to the representation of people and objects, an interest in the details of daily life, and a pronounced taste for marginal drôleries. Maurits Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures from the Eighth to the Mid-16th Century*, (Louvain, 1999), fig. 60, p. 152, writes of the Glazier Peacock that “it belongs to the circle of [Pierart] dou Tielt...The quality is higher than the work of Dou Tielt. The attention to details from daily life and the extremely vivid representation of people and things are particularly striking.” The following are on file at the Pierpont Morgan Library: Lilian Randall, in a private letter to William Glazier of 1958, wrote that the iconography of the marginalia seemed far more Flemish than French; Otto Pächt gave the opinion in 1960, during an informal viewing, that this manuscript, “...rather definitely came from Flanders...perhaps in the vicinity of Bruges,” and also remarked on the “similarity to the Tournai *Rose*.”

Miniatures and Rubrics in the Glazier Peacock:
Voeux du paon (figs. 12–33; color plates 1–22)⁴
 [Lacuna: laisses 1–44 – Lost Frontispiece?]



Fig. 12. PML G24, laisse 45, (l. 1623) fol. 4, det., *Ausi que Betis fu coronnes de Festus* (Fésonas crowns Betis in the game 'le roy qui ne ment' with Édéas, Cassiel the Baudrain, Ydorus, and two men), (photo with permission: PML).⁵



Fig. 13. PML G24, laisse 70, (l. 2384), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 19v, det., *Comment emenidus offri amende a gadifer devant le roi alixandre* (Emenidus offers amends to Gadifer before Alexander the Great), (photo with permission: PML).

⁴ Lines correspond to Ritchie.

⁵ Ritchie 2, cxiii, translates this as the 'Soothfast King'.



Fig. 14. PML, MS G24, laisse 70, (l. 2749) *Voeux du paon*, fol. 25v, det., *Comment Fésonas jue au baudrain et Cassamus le iete dun cousin* (Cassamus throws a pillow at Fésonas and Cassiel the Baudrain who are playing chess), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 15. PML, MS G24, laisse 94, (l. 3042), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 30v, det., *Le joust de Porrus et de Floridas* (The Joust of Porrus and Floridas [who was unhorsed] and the animal raid), (photo with permission: PML).

on the dating: the presence of the *Restor* provides a secure *post quem* of 1338; the images of flagellants in the margins, depicted in a highly derisive manner, suggest a later *post quem* of 1352, after which time the movement had been formally condemned by the papacy.⁶

⁶ On Flemish art in general, see Smeyers, *Flemish Miniatures*; Georg Graf Vitzthum, *Die Pariser Miniaturmalerei von der Zeit des Ludwig bis zu Philipp von Valois und ihre Verhältnis zur Malerei in Nordwesteuropa* (Leipzig, 1907); Ellen Beer, "Pariser Buchmalerei in der Zeit



Fig. 16. PML G24, laisse 97, (l. 3125), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 32, det., *Ausi que li bataille fu devant la citet Fesonas* (The knights of Ephésion and India fight before the gate of the city of Fésonas [Ephésion]), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 17. PML G24, laisse 103, (l. 3312), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 34v, det., *La bataille de ii fil Clarus a Gadifer et a Ariste* (The battle of Clarus' two sons against Gadifer and Aristé [before the castle of Ephésion]), (photo with permission: PML).

Ludwigs des Heiligen und im letzten Viertel des 13. Jahrhunderts," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 44 (1981), pp. 62–91; and Chanoine Dehaisnes, *Documents et extraits divers concernant l'histoire de l'art dans la Flandre, l'Artois et le Hainaut avant le XV^e siècle* (Lille, 1886). On Tournai artists, see: A. de la Grange and Louis Cloquet, "Études sur l'art à Tournai et sur les anciens artistes de cette ville. Deuxième partie," *Mémoires de la société historique et littéraire de Tournai* 21 (1888), pp. 1–462; A. Pinchant, *Quelques artisans de Tournai des XIV^eme, XV^eme et XVI^eme siècles* (Brussels, 1883). I thank Jilleen Nadolny for these two references. Jean Dumoulin and Jacques Pycke, *La cathédrale Notre-Dame de Tournai hier et aujourd'hui* (Tournai, 1971); idem, *Le chapitre cathédral Notre-Dame de Tournai de la fin du XI^e à la fin du XII^e siècle. Son organisation, sa vie, ses membres* (Louvain, 1986); Tournai, *Cathédrale de Tournai, Trésors sacrés*, exh. cat. (Tournai, 1971).



Fig. 18. PML G24, laisse 106, (l. 3418) *Voeux du paon*, fol. 36, det., *Comment Betis fu pris entre les fourriers* (How Betis was captured [by Clarus' knights] amongst the raiders), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 19. PML G24, laisse 109, (l. 3525), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 37v, det., *Comment Porrus fu pris* (How Porrus was taken prisoner [by Ephésion's knights] amongst the raiders), (photo with permission: PML).

At least two artists are responsible for the illumination: the Peacock Master, who executed all twenty-two miniatures and roughly 116 folios of marginalia; and the Scat Master, who executed roughly 124 folios of marginalia. Twenty-five folios of marginalia betray an overlap where the artists worked together or the latter painted a design by the former.⁷ The artists

⁷ See *Chart 9* in the Catalogue for the codicological structure and the disposition of artistic hands.



Fig. 20. PML G24, laisse 121, (l. 3877), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 43v, det., *Ausi que Porrus traist le paon sour le saile* (How Porrus killed the peacock), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 21. PML G24, laisse 123, (l. 3916), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 44, det., *Chou est le table dou veu dou paon* (This is the table where the Vows of the Peacock took place [Perhaps this is the heated reaction of Porrus' and/or Cassiel's vows]), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 22. PML G24, laisse 138, (l. 4352), *Voies du paon*, fol. 52, det., *Comment le pris et li paon fu donnez a Aristet a la table* (How the prize and the peacock were given [by Elyot] to Aristé at the table), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 23. PML G24, laisse 145, (l. 4542), *Voies du paon*, fol. 55, det., *Ausi que que [sic] Lionés joust a Canaan et le roy Clarus* (Vow 1: How Lyoné jousted with Canaän [Prince of India] before [his father], King Clarus), (photo with permission: PML).

divided the work in relation to the manuscript in a variety of manners, sometimes working on entire quires or parts of quires (X and XV, for example), other times working on the same folio and haphazardly throughout a quire.⁸ The use of a sketchbook or model of some type may be inferred by a series of repeated motifs.⁹

⁸ See Elizabeth Moore Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts, 1270–1310* (New York, 2007), who interprets the marginalia using gender and complex iconographic and codicological studies.

⁹ A running arse: fols. 44v, 45v, 82, 136v, 139v; hybrid trumpeter with puffed cheeks: fols. 18, 24v; coiled hybrid viper: fols. 28v, 37, 124v; living bagpipe: fols. 12v, 91v, 95v; and a defecating ape: fols. 23v and 123v.



Fig. 24. PML G24, laisse 181, (l. 5417), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 69v, det., *Comment Fésonas rechust Alixandre avokes les xii peres* (How Fésonas greets Alexander with the Twelve Worthies [preux] at the gates of Ephésion), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 25. PML G24, laisse 214, (6178) fol. 80v, det., *Comment Porrus accompli son veu ki tolli Amenidon sou cheval* (Vow 2A: How Porrus fulfilled his vow by unhorsing Emenidus), (photo with permission: PML).¹⁰

THE PEACOCK MASTER

The Peacock Master, finer in both content and style, emulates earlier Parisian trends, sometimes quoting from Pucellian models, as with the flutist (playing the instrument backwards) on fol. 106 (fig. 34),¹¹

¹⁰ See Grigsby, *The Gab*, pp. 198–99, who separates Porrus' vow into two parts.

¹¹ See, for example: the flutist with a foliate terminal on fol. 106, reminiscent of the hybrid in the bas-de-page of Pucelle's Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux (New York, The Cloisters Collection, MS 54.1.2), 1324–1328, fol. 174.



Fig. 26. PML G24, laisse 218, (l. 6278), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 82v, det., *Comment Perdicas son veu accompli* (Vow 3: How Perdicas fulfilled his vow), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 27. PML G24, laisse 226, (l. 6476), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 85v, det., *Comment Perdicas vint a piet et le rois Clarus se combat a Cassamus a piet* (How Perdicas came on foot and King Clarus and Cassamus fought on foot), (photo with permission: PML).

but evinces a distinctively northern flair for extreme attention to detail and the use of obscenae.¹² The interest in period fashion is typical of

¹² Lilian Randall, *Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the Walters Art Gallery*, vol. 3: Belgium, 1250–1530 (Baltimore, 1997) part 1, p. 84, mentions the connection of marginalia “mixing apes and large birds in scatological contexts,” between the Glazier Peacock, the Psalter of Louis le Hutin of 1315 (Tournai, Cathedral Treasury) and Baltimore, Walters Art Museum, MS 82 (1315–25, Ghent).



Fig. 28. PML, MS G24, laisse 227, (l. 6496), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 86, det., *Comment Cassamus acomplist son veu et ayde le roy Clarus* (Vow 4: How Cassamus accomplished his vow by aiding the [unhorsed] King Clarus [to remount]), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 29. PML, MS G24, laisse 228, (l. 6518) fol. 86v, det.; *Comment ochist le roi de pincernie* (How [Aristé] slew the King of Pincernia), (photo with permission: PML).

numerous Flemish, French and English manuscripts from the period around 1350.¹³

¹³ For consistency, all vocabulary for fashion derives from the 'Glossary: English and French Clothing Terms', in *Illuminating Fashion: Dress in the Art of Medieval France and the Netherlands, 1325–1515*, exh. cat., Anne H. van Buren with Roger S. Wieck (New York, 2011), pp. 291–320. For other important studies of period fashion, see Odile Blanc,



Fig. 30. PML, MS G24, laisse 230, (l. 6586), *Voies du paon*, fol. 88, det.; *Comment li baudrains toil lespee au roy Alixandre* (Vow 5: How [Cassiel] the Baudrain took Alexander's sword), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 31. PML, MS G24, laisse 231, (l. 6614), *Voies du paon*, fol. 88v, det., *Comment Caulus achieve son veu et oste le baudrain son heaume* (Vow 6: How Caulus fulfills his vow by taking [Cassiel] the Baudrain's helmet), (photo with permission: PML).

"From Battlefield to Court: The Invention of Fashion in the Fourteenth Century," in *Encountering Medieval Textiles and Dress: Objects, Texts, Images*, eds. Désirée G. Koslin and Janet Snyder, (New York, 2002), pp. 157–172; Stella Mary Newton, *Fashion in the Age of the Black Prince: A Study of the Years 1340–1365* (Woodbridge, 1980), remains a definitive study; Margaret Scott, *Fashion in the Middle Ages* (Los Angeles, 2011); and, most recently, Nicole D. Smith, *Sartorial Strategies: Outfitting Aristocrats and Fashioning Conduct in Late Medieval Literature* (Notre Dame, IN, 2012).

[Lacunae: laisses 232–252, *Vow 7*: Floridas captures the Baudrain?;
Vow 8: Gadifer destroys Clarus' battle standard?; laisses 261–263:
Vow 2b: Porrus beheads Alexander's horse?]



Fig. 32. PML, MS G24, laisse 269, (l. 7762), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 95v, det., *Comment Porrus ochist Cassamus* (How Porrus slew Cassamus), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 33. PML, MS G24, laisse 273, (l. 7844), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 97, det., *Comment Emenidus prist Porrus* (How Emenidus seized Porrus), (photo with permission: PML).

[Miniatures omitted: *Vow 9*: Aristé protects Fésonas; *Vows 10–12*: Fésonas marries Porrus; Ydorus marries Bétis; and Édéa restores the peacock].¹⁴

¹⁴ Grigsby, *The Gab* p. 199, writes that Aristé merely promised to defend Fésonas, “so his presence on the battlefield...would seem to justify the claim that he kept his word,” and that “Édéa’s vow...appears to be forgotten. There is little justification to consider the *Restor* an organic sequel...”

Although the miniatures are fully painted on a gilded background, the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock were executed in a type of grisaille known as *portrait d'encre* or 'camaïeu'. In this instance, washes of vibrant green, purple, brown, orange and flesh tones are highlighted with opaque glossy white and scarlet highlights.¹⁵

THE SCAT MASTER

I call the second artist the Scat master due to his predilection for scatological imagery. This artist revels in the effects of drawing and cares little for anatomy, simplifying the constituent body parts. Notably, the eyes, missing an indication of the lower lid, look like a sideways number '6'. This artist has a propensity for nervous, sketchy gestures epitomized in the curly, shaggy hair on animals such as the sheep, on fol. 30v, and the pony, on fol. 31 (fig. 35).



Fig. 34. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 106, det., A hybrid flutist (photo with permission: PML).

¹⁵ On this style, see M. Krieger, *Grisaille als Metaphor. Zum Entstehen der peinture en camaïeu im frühen 14. Jahrhundert* (Vienna, 1995).



Fig. 35. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 31, det., Shaggy pony swinging a hybrid whose tail it holds in its mouth (photo with permission: PML).

Whereas the Peacock master looks in part to Paris, the Scat master is firmly grounded in the Flemish iconographic vocabulary and scurrilous marginalia. The Scat master's style, at its most refined, approaches the cruder work of Pierart dou Tielt, as in Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal MS 5128 (dated 1351) or the Bodleian Alexander on fol. 69v (fig. 36).¹⁶ But it also betrays an affiliation with the nervously drawn figures on a rotulus with scenes from the *Life of St. Quentin* (fig. 37).¹⁷

Subtle differences may point to the possibility of a further subdivision of hands or, more likely, the varied models and experimentation with

¹⁶ See Lori J. Walters, "Wonders and Illuminations: Pierart dou Tiel and the *Queste del Saint Graal*," in *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature*, ed. Keith Busby (New York, 1996), pp. 339–372. For my checklist of dou Tiel's work see Appendix 3.

¹⁷ Brussels, BR MS II.3189, from the parish church of Saint-Quentin at Louvain. See Camille Gaspar and Frédéric Lyna, *Les Principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique*, (Brussels, 1984; reprint of 1937), part 1, no. 160, pp. 383–385, part 2, p. 79, fig. LXXXVIIIa; Robert Branner, "The Saint-Quentin Rotulus," *Scriptorium* 21 (1967), pp. 252–260, see p. 258 for style. Though Branner does mention the Bodleian Alexander, I believe that he follows Gaspar and Lyna's dating of the 1360s, which is certainly too late, taking into account the knee-length men's costume which points, rather, to a date in the 1340s.

different styles.¹⁸ The stylistic disjuncture between the ordered linearity of the Peacock master and the doodling gestures of the Scat master has repercussions on the presentation of their subject matter. The Scat master tends to use heavy outlining and schematic figures, rendering them more disturbing, wild, or whimsical than those of his colleague. The Peacock master's courtly finesse renders the dangerous, fabled creatures entirely tame. They have a refined, courtly sensibility not unlike the style used for contemporaneous works in precious metal, enamel, or ivory.



Fig. 36. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Roman d'Alexandre*, fol. 69v, det.; Alexander at the Fountain of Youth with the flower-maidens. (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

¹⁸ This is mostly the case with the Peacock Master who paints various types of dagging at the edges of the capuchons (the long thin pendants on fol. 2 versus the scalloping on fol. 3v and in the miniature on fol. 4). He betrays a heightened interest in modeling, as in the ape school scene; and he uses multiple types of apes, closer to the marginalia in BnF, ms. fr. 714, fols. 36, 43v.



Fig. 37. BR MS II.3189, det., rotulus with scenes from *La Vie de St. Quentin* (photo with permission: BR).

CHAPTER THREE

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: MINIATURES

*The barons' spectacular efforts to make good their promises highlight the combat scenes, which would otherwise fall into trite, monotonous repetitions.*¹

*L'un des thèmes majeurs des Voeux du Paon [est] la victoire de la courtoisie sur la violence et la guerre.*²

A RECONSTRUCTION OF THE ICONOGRAPHIC PROGRAM

The *Voeux* in the Glazier Peacock was originally much longer and its iconographic program much grander. In its present state the Glazier Peacock lacks three quires of eight at the beginning and two quires of eight internally.³ Given the number of miniatures that remain, it is likely that a substantial portion of them were destroyed or lost (at the very least, an elaborate frontispiece where Alexander meets Cassamus, and miniatures for the vows of Fésonas, Édéa, Ydorus, Floridas, and Gadifer, bringing the total to twenty-eight).⁴ This hypothesis is borne out by the Concordance. For example, nearly all illuminated manuscripts open with a variation on a scene where Alexander the Great meets the elderly Cassamus who implores him for aid in battle. By comparing patterns of subject matter and insertion points, certain scenes appear across the board, further serving to corroborate this idea.

CONTRIBUTIONS OF LITERARY HISTORIANS

Over the past decade, five literary historians have made a decisive impact on studies of the Peacock Cycle manuscripts: Hélène Bellon-Méguelle, Keith Busby, Marcus Cruse, John L. Grigsby, and Michel Margue.⁵ All of

¹ Grigsby, *The Gab*, pp. 197–198.

² Margue, “Les voeux sur les oiseaux,” p. 276.

³ For a detailed examination of the codicology, see Chart 13.

⁴ See Charts 11 and 12.

⁵ Grigsby, *The Gab*; Margue: “Les voeux sur les oiseaux”; idem, “Voeux du Paon”; idem, *Les Voeux sur les oiseaux*; Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*.

them remark on the distinctive, rarified world of the *Voeux* where graciousness and a code of courtesy in war and love prevail. When knights are captured, they are led to the Chamber of Venus rather than to prison.⁶ Margue writes:

La société courtoise d'Ephezon est le reflet d'un monde aristocratique idéalisé, libéré des contingences matérielles et des nécessités terre à terre qui pèsent sur la vie quotidienne.⁷

In reference to the *Voeux du cygne*, *Voeux du paon* and *Voeux de l'épervier* he writes:

Ils sont...un mélange entre les serments de vassalité et le vœu de croisade, pris entre des références chrétiens et des modèles courtois.⁸

Hélène Bellon-Méguelle's revisionist study of the *Voeux* brings to light the pivotal role(s) women play in the storyline. It is most surprising that this is decidedly not the case in the miniatures of the Glazier Peacock. Why is this element not developed visually in this manuscript (or any other illuminated *Paon* manuscript, with the exception of the Paris Peacock)? The omission of all pictorial references to the Chamber of Venus in the Glazier Peacock forefronts instead the miniatures where one woman, Fésonas, takes an active role. It is, indeed, the chess game which is important enough to have one of the only direct image-marginalia rapports in the entire Glazier Peacock. The following images include Fésonas' pictorial role in the miniatures:

1. Fésonas crowns the *roy qui ne ment*, fol. 4.
2. Fésonas plays chess, fol. 25v.
3. Fésonas brings the peacock to the vowing feast, fol. 44.
4. Fésonas receives Alexander before the castle of Ephésion, fol. 69v.

This distinctive and insistently irreproachable courtly tenor of the images of Fésonas parallels and reinforces the role a noble lady was expected to play in contemporary society.⁹

⁶ The artists of the Paris Peacock translate the text-image rapport more closely than the Glazier Peacock. In it women play a *visual* role beyond the text.

⁷ Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*, p. 49.

⁸ Margue, "Voeux du Paon," p. 22.

⁹ See, for example, ivory mirror cases with couples playing chess, such as cat. no. 58, p. 232, in Detroit, The Detroit Institute of Art, *Images in Ivory: Precious Objects of the Gothic Age*, exh. cat., ed. Peter Barnet (Detroit, 1997), entry by Richard H. Randall, Jr. An erotic interpretation of chess games depicted on ivory mirror cases is found in Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York, 1996), who writes, p. 171, that "They are celebrations of or witty warnings about sexual pleasure."

All commentators on the *Voeux* describe it in highly poetic terms.¹⁰ For example, Grigsby writes of, "...the pleasure of a pretty thought, an amorous response, stolen glances, sparkling eyes."¹¹ Bellon-Méguelle has written on the iconography of clothing and delicate gestures:

Les occupants de la Chambre de Vénus et du palais d'Ephezon se tiennent par les doigts, par la main, par la manche, par le manteau, ou encore par la taille. Ces gestes, faits de grâce et de délicatesse, sont l'expression de la relation d'estime et d'affection existant entre les membres de la société d'Ephezon. Au surplus, cette gestuelle courtoise par laquelle les corps se rapprochent, se touchent, peut faire songer aux mouvements et aux postures des danseurs.¹²

Bellon-Méguelle's unique exploration of the 'iconography of courtesy' is evident in the first extant miniature, on fol. 4 (fig.12), where Fésonas crowns Bétis for winning *le roi qui ne ment* (The King Who Does not Lie).¹³ Here, the couple at right delicately hold hands. There are three other names given in the text which may be represented in this scene: Ydorus, Édéas, and Cassiel, Sultan of Baudre (more commonly referred to in the text as Cassiel the Baudrain). The exaggerated contrapposto of the figures in general recalls the Gothic sway which one is much more accustomed to see in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sculpture, especially in the portable arts, such as ivory.¹⁴ This element combines with the figures' tilted heads, which are set at different angles, the three-quarter views of their faces, and their delicate gestures – hands pointing or raised – to create, as Bellon-Méguelle describes, a graceful dance performance. The staccato bursts of cobalt blue and scarlet enliven the scene. Note the manner in which the recipient of the crown holds his open hand to his chest.

¹⁰ A later manuscript's opening rubric reads, *Ces sont les veaux de paon dont la matire est darmes et damo[ur]*s, (These are the Vows of the Peacock which tell about arms and love); New York Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS 9 fol. 1 [S4]. Here, we find one of the late illuminated Peacock manuscripts, executed c. 1360 in Northeastern France or Flanders. It does, indeed, depict the Chamber of Venus on fol. 32. In it there are men and women seated on cushions in a room bounded by castle walls with and defined by a green tapestry backdrop and carpet. Cassamus, speaking to a group on the left, is identifiable by his bald head and long white beard. At right, a man gently touches a woman's shoulder.

¹¹ Grigsby, *The Gab*, p. 200.

¹² Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*, p. 291.

¹³ See Richard Firth Green, "*Le Roi Qui Ne Ment* and Aristocratic Courtship," in *Courtly Literature: Culture and Context*, eds. Keith Busby and Erik Cooper (Utrecht, 1990), pp. 211–226.

¹⁴ See Detroit, *Images in Ivory*.

FASHION AND NATURALISM IN THE GLAZIER PEACOCK

The Peacock Master has a penchant for sartorial finesse, taking great care to represent the details of period fashion. The men wear a tight, buttoned tunic akin to a doublet (the so-called 'cote hardy'), which ends just above the knees over colored hose.¹⁵ Long, thin extensions of contrasting colors of fabric fall from the elbow nearly to the ground, known as 'tippetts'. They also wear short hooded capes (chaperons) which end in a myriad treatment at the hem line: some are scalloped, some dagged, and others fringed. The chaperon is hooded, and it extends in a long, thin point, called a 'liripipe'. Sometimes the liripipe trails down the back but can also be knotted or wrapped around the head, reminiscent of a turban. At the far left of this image a young man holds his so that it falls over the chest. The chaperons themselves are oftentimes casually thrown over the shoulder. The men also wear studded belts with a pouch and dagger over the groin. To finish the ensemble the men wear paper-thin leather shoes. They have open fretwork in many different patterns.

The women wear long, tight, boat-necked dresses. At times they wear a surcoat, another dress over this in a contrasting color, open or slashed at the sides. The Peacock Master presents variations on the way the dress could be worn. At left, a maiden – with long, exposed hair – holds her dress bunched in one hand, revealing a different colored dress beneath it. Bétis has knotted her surcoat, also revealing the floor-length dress in a different color (fig. 12). This miniature also demonstrates the painter's attention, naïve though it may be, to foreshortening and modeling. For example, the table on which Bétis sits is composed of parallel diagonal lines and shading that make it appear to recede. This experiment with period Italian perspective recurs throughout the miniatures, and the castles are the most dramatic example of it.

The same attention to detail is evident in depictions of the natural world. A distinct use of green and white clumps creates the grassy ground in the outdoor settings. Although the general shape of trees is not naturalistic, different types, as on fols. 34v and 36, are distinguishable by their foliage. For example, on fol. 36, an oak is discernable by the outline of its leaves. The artist's penchant for keen observation is most notable in the miniature on fol. 25v, where onlookers flank a couple playing chess (fig. 14). At the foot of the seated maiden, Fésonas, is a squirrel, and a small white dog sniffs the ground at the Baudrain's feet. Here the artist has painted, at

¹⁵ Blanc, *Encountering Medieval Textiles*, pp. 157–172; Van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*.

left, a woman arm in arm with a young man. The bawdy scenario at right, however, where a man reaches around a woman to place his hands on her breasts betrays a Flemish rather than Parisian sensibility (fig. 38). This is more in keeping with the bawdy nature of the marginalia.

Unlike many contemporary examples of repetitive battle scenes in Arthurian and Peacock manuscripts, the images of the Peacock Master create a uniquely varied series. The Peacock Master's interest in perspective is most visible in the *mêlées*, specifically with foreshortened fallen horses. On fol. 34v, for example, the scene is composed in a daring manner (figs. 17, 39). During the fight between the two sons of Clarus, and Gadifer and Aristé, a fallen gray horse is dramatically foreshortened. On the same folio the upraised swords of the knights create an intricate and menacing silhouette against the gold background.¹⁶



Fig. 38. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 25v, det., Man embracing a woman while they participate in the game 'le roy qui ne ment' (photo with permission: PML).

¹⁶ See other dramatic examples of fallen horses in contorted poses on fols. 88v and 95v.



Fig. 39. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 34v, det., Clarus' two sons battling against Gadifer and Aristé (photo with permission: PML).

This miniature is a key example of the division between the disorder and violence in the battle scenes and the order and serenity of the castle surrounded by trees – war versus love. It also serves to underline the association of two spaces with different genders. The men fight on the left while the women gesture from the castle, at right, which is metonymically tied to them. Within, the women rule the erotically entitled Chamber of Venus – a transparent reference to the female genitalia – and are literally the rewards for the victors. Margue describes this division, “Les conflits armés qui s’en suivent sont guettés avec anxiété du haut des tours d’Ephésion par trois pucelles...”¹⁷ On fol. 69v, Fésonas leaves the castle to

¹⁷ Margue, “Les Voeux du paon,” p. 5.

greet Alexander. She takes him by the hand, another example of the iconography of courtesy, momentarily bridging the gap between the masculine topos of the battlefield and the feminine topos of the castle (figs. 24, 40).¹⁸ This scene is enhanced by the attention that the Peacock Master lavishes on sartorial intricacies. The Twelve Worthies, who follow Alexander, provide a striking example: almost each has hose with different patterns and colors. Some wear a long belt, which falls heavily over the hip. All wear the cote hardy in its original use – padding over the chainmail and under the potentially uncomfortable armor.¹⁹

The theme of the aristocrats' amorous dalliance and dinner festivities (folios 4, 25v, 43v, 44 and 52) comprises about a quarter of the miniatures. One of the most critical moments in the plotline – the killing of the peacock – is rendered on fol. 43v with courtly elegance and gracefulness



Fig. 40. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 69v, det., Alexander at the gates of Ephesus in the miniature, and a wading bird wearing a crown in the adjacent margin (photo with permission: PML).

¹⁸ See Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, *Le Roman de la Rose*, trans. and ed. Armand Strubel (Paris, 1992), ll. 20783–20796, where Venus shoots an arrow into the erotically charged “petitete archiere,” l. 20796, flanked by two pillars in the front of the castle. Also, see the ivory caskets and mirror valves sculpted with the scene of knights besieging the Castle of Love with roses; for example, Detroit, *Images in Ivory*, no. 57, ‘Mirror Case with the Attack on the Castle of Love’, pp. 230–231.

¹⁹ See Blanc, *Encountering Medieval Textiles*, and Van Buren, *Illuminating Fashion*.

(fig. 20). In this composition the peacock is perched atop a complex, multi-turreted tower of the castle. To accentuate the importance of this scene, the artist broke through the upper frame to accommodate the body of the peacock. It is flanked by Cassamus and Porrus on the left and Fésonas and another women on the right. All four characters stand inside the limits of a crenellated hexagon which is part of the castle. This is a charged moment: Porrus aims his bow at the peacock, ready at any minute to release the arrow. As if it had already happened, a woman gestures and holds the hand of Fésonas, to whom the peacock belongs.

In one of the few instances in the Glazier Peacock where there is a possible interaction between marginalia and miniature, a crane, in the left margin, wears a crown as does Alexander in the miniature – perhaps to poke fun at the king (figs. 24, 40).

On fol. 80v, a miniature depicts how Porrus fulfilled his vow to unhorse Emenidus (figs. 25, 41). Porrus stands triumphant but Emenidus is crumpled on the ground. In the bas-de-page there is a hunt scene where two purple rabbits are being chased by a speedy greyhound-like dog; one of the rabbits takes a look behind in a futile attempt to gauge how long it will be before he is caught.²⁰ At far right, the master of the hunt blows a horn to announce the location of the prey and carries a bludgeon in the other hand. There is a proverb-like narrative in this potentially generic image: the weak shall be devoured by the strong. The inevitable death of the rabbits in the hunt – an aristocrat's pastime – resonates with Emenidus' shameful experience in the miniature above.

Another instance of marginal glossing seems likely in the miniature of fol. 95v (figs. 32, 42). It depicts a fight where Cassamus is killed by the downward thrust of Porrus' sword. Porrus is on the balls of his feet in the stirrups, which allows him to stretch further and deliver the mortal blow. Directly beneath this image of Porrus, with only the frame intervening is a lion which turns his face toward the reader/viewer. The lion is a transparent reference to Alexander the Great, as his blazon makes clear. To the left, outside of the frame, is a hybrid, winged grotesque: a lion's back legs have a human face in the groin, and a serpent's tail. It wears a turban-like head-dress made from a length of white textile. This marks it as 'the enemy' from the East. It derides the gravitas of the scene.

²⁰ Margot M. Nishimura and David Nishimura, "Rabbits, Warrens, and Warrenne: The Patronage of the Gorleston Psalter," in *Studies in Manuscript Illumination: A Tribute to Lucy Freeman Sandler* eds. Carol Krinsky and Kathryn A. Smith (London, 2008), pp. 205–218.



Fig. 41. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 80v, Porrus stands triumphant having unhorsed Emenidus while two rabbits are hunted in the bas-de-page (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 42. PML, MS G24, *Voie du paon*, fol. 95v, Porrus kills Cassamus while a hybrid Saracen watches from the flanking margin (photo with permission: PML).

THE FEASTING TABLE

The 'centerpiece' images, on fols. 44 (l. 3916) and 52 (l. 4352) preserve the most intimate details of the vowing scene. The first corresponds to the rubric "Chou est li table dou veu dou paon" (This is the table of the vow [sic] of the peacock). Although this image is badly rubbed, it gives insight onto a world of fictional and enchanted space (fig. 21). Note that the only figure to show his back to the viewer is a varlet. The receding lines of the wooden plank ceiling fronted with trilobate baldequin arcading accentuate the luxury of this banquet hall. The Peacock Master has filled this miniature with a host of elements which transform a group of people seated at a table into a real and recognizable medieval festivity. The costumes of the seated figures are all different, a signifier of the artist's particular style or his response to a project for which no expense was spared. The trestle table is covered with a blue and white lozenge-patterned tablecloth, set with silver and gold vessels and cutlery. A lady (Édéa or Ydorus) at far right elegantly holds a glass from the base. Of note are the inclusion of the shoes and clothing of the figures visible under the tablecloth. A dog chews on a bone at right. At left, a carver who holds up his knife wears a white apron. The scene is set within an abbreviated architectural form, complete with a chimney, which is part of the castle. Fashionably dressed musicians play *buisines* (long trumpets) to announce the arrival of the cooked peacock.

The chief steward, or major-domo, directed the rigid etiquette observed at court, preceding the servants who bore the food into the hall. On state occasions the cook sometimes joined the solemn procession, claiming the honor of carrying the first dish to the table. The formal entry and actual serving of each course was invariably accompanied by the sounding of trumpets.²¹

This is at variance with the scene in the *Voeux* where Elyot carries out the dish with the peacock, reaffirming the importance of the event. Only the peacock's tail feathers have been preserved to sustain the realism in this scene. Perhaps to conflate two different moments in the narrative, Fésonas dramatically presents the cooked peacock, plucked of all feathers but the gorgeous tail, on bended knee. In the center it appears that a server also holds a cooked peacock. On the right, Aristé, who is in the midst of getting

²¹ For a detailed exploration of this subject matter, refer to the classic: Edmund Bowles, "Musical Instruments at the Medieval Banquet," *Revue belge de Musicologie*, vol. 12, no. 1/4 (1958), pp. 41–51, p. 43. Bowles, p. 44, writes that: These trumpeters, members of an élite corps, either sat in the minstrels' gallery or stood behind their master's chair as befitting their exclusive rank.

up to stand on the table to speak, lifts his leg. The artist has gone to great lengths to depict his fashionable hose in burgundy with white polka-dots. This commences the vowing scenes. Perhaps Aristé is reacting to the unabashedly aggressive vow of Porrus, to win the war.

The second depiction of the feasting table, on fol. 52, is well preserved but the architectural setting is simpler and the composition less animated than the first (figs. 22, 43). The accompanying rubric reads “Comment le pris et li paon fu donnes a Aristé a la table” (How the prize and the peacock were given to Aristé at the table). But where is he in the miniature? Is he the man standing? Or is he the only other clean-shaven man, who is seated at far right. There are ten aristocrats in the first miniature and only eight in the second. Perhaps the number of figures was reduced in order to give the artist more space in which to work. It does focus attention on the presentation tray. In this miniature, the peacock is garnished with the uncooked head and tail feathers. Elyot is discretely holding the hand of the winner – he who made the most valiant vow – Aristé. This compresses two scenes into one: Elyot brings out the cooked peacock and processes around the table holding the platter; Elyot stands at the head of the table with the winner. A varlet in a submissive kneeling pose in front of the table extends an arm to take the peacock. He will afterwards carve and serve it.

The pace of the narrative in the text quickens, leading up to the vowing scenes. But the tempo of *visual* action in the miniatures accelerates *after* the vowing scenes at the feasting table. There is a notable increase in the concentration of, and violence in the battle scenes. Although the extant iconographic program in the Glazier Peacock shares depictions of the accomplishment of the vows with many other peacock manuscripts, its placement of them is unique. For example, the Glazier Peacock's rubrics and iconographic cycle serve to highlight the chivalric aspect by expanding on the feasting and battle scenes pertinent to making and fulfilling the vows. The Bodleian Alexander, however, while emphasizing the chivalric scenario in general, misses the particulars unique to the *Voeux*: the key scenes of the chess game and the shooting of and vowing over the peacock.²²

²² Despite extensive instructions for the illuminators of the Bodleian Alexander, there were problems executing the cycle. Some scenes are relegated to the bas-de-page, especially in the *Restor*, and the rubrics were for the most part added later, most likely in England (as the Anglo-Norman philological traits suggest).



Fig. 43. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 52, det., While holding Artisté's hand, Elyot brings the roasted peacock to the table (photo with permission: PML).

THE CASTLE AND THE BATTLEFIELD

In the Glazier Peacock there is a duality between the castle: *courtoisie* (courtliness) and *chevalerie* (chivalry), and the battlefield, *la bataille*. By varying the density of miniatures under these two general themes, the visual disposition of the iconographic program punctuating the text highlights a visual rhythm (Chart 16). It simultaneously forefronts the slow-moving scenes, which include women, and enhances the energetic fulfillment of the vows. This important element separates the miniatures

from marginalia. Whereas the miniatures establish a narrative flow that is synchronized with the text, the erratically placed marginalia play no role in it. Rather, they abide by no planned or predictable order, and their very presence establishes an irregular rhythm.

Courtoisie: figs. 12-14



La Bataille: figs. 15-19



Courtoisie: figs. 20-22



NB: These three miniatures might have appeared here at the vowing scene

La Bataille: fig. 23



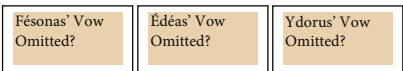
Courtoisie: fig. 24



La Bataille: figs. 25-30 (upper register), and 31-33 (lower register)



Courtoisie



NB: These three miniatures might have appeared at the end as in MS [W]

Chart 16. *La Courtoisie et la chevalerie* (Courtliness and Chivalry) versus *La Bataille* (The Battle).

CHAPTER FOUR

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: MARGINALIA

In the Glazier Peacock, 621 alternately light-hearted and darkly demonic marginalia aggressively populate the space around the courtly poems and refined miniatures. Playful apes, colorful songbirds, musician *jongleurs*, and monstrosly grotesque hybrids are part of this teeming microcosm, marking the Glazier Peacock as unique in relation to earlier and contemporary examples of marginalia. It contains an unusually high number and variety of them, and it has the highest known concentration of scatologically obscene images.¹ Most importantly, these marginalia – rather than depicting pure fantasy – document and parody historical events.

MARGINALIA AND METHODOLOGY

In “The Study of Marginal Imagery, Past, Present, and Future,” Lucy Freeman Sandler writes:

All generalizations about the meaning of marginal imagery may seem inadequate when we confront a particular manuscript. For each book I think there are questions we must ask in relation to the particular circumstances of its production – who wanted it made, for whom was it made, who made it, and how. Answering these questions manuscript by manuscript may clarify the meaning of the marginalia of each particular book and enhance our understanding of marginal imagery in a more general way.²

It is against Sandler’s rich and wide-ranging methodological framework and the ensuing influence it has had on studies of marginalia – including the work of the late Michael Camille – that I have written this section. My goal here is to place my personal, eclectic methodology and contribution to the field within the history of studies on marginalia. Beginning with my own approach, I document the evolution of ideas which led me to accept the slippery and polysemous nature of marginalia, the multiplicity of interpretations, and the necessity to leave so many questions open-ended.

¹ See the Index of Marginalia.

² Lucy Freeman Sandler, “The Study of Marginal Imagery, Past, Present, and Future,” *Studies in Iconography* 18 (1997), pp. 1–49, p. 36.

To attack this project, I created a thematic and descriptive Index of Marginalia in the Glazier Peacock.³ I then isolated iconographical *leitmotifs*. The most significant were a series of 'Templar/flagellant' images and a group of identifiable proverbs.⁴ I had hoped to find marginalia that interacted with the text or miniatures – there is only one for certain, on fol. 25v – but realized that none would assist me in 'deciphering' the group. Although I was able to establish that this manuscript had more scatologically obscene marginalia than any other known manuscript from this period, I could only conclude that, for this very reason, these marginalia belonged, broadly, to Northern French or Flemish examples.⁵

Nevertheless, I then set out to ascertain whether other Peacock manuscripts shared this repertoire of marginalia.⁶ Only three have marginalia: the Bodleian Alexander (Tournai?, 1344), the Glazier Peacock (Tournai?, c. 1350), and manuscript [P8/A] (Paris, c. 1320).⁷ Though dense in the first two, they are minimal in the third. Following Sandler's lead, I ultimately opted for a primary reading of the marginalia within the micro-environment of the Glazier Peacock.

My work on marginalia is grounded in the methodology used by my predecessors. Lilian M.C. Randall's 1966 publication *Images in the Margins of Gothic Manuscripts*, with its rich catalogue of and commentary on marginalia is the starting point for any study on this subject.⁸ A pioneer in the field, Randall had already begun analyzing marginalia using a complex strategy that still holds value today, a combination of: connoisseurship; familiarity with historical context; and knowledge of the text, miniatures, and/or music in the manuscript itself. These elements are critical to understanding text-miniature-marginalia dynamics. The other inroad is the identification of iconographic elements, be they well-known or novel,

³ For comparable work, see Alison Stones "Iconographical appendix," in Angelica Rieger, *L'Ystoire du bon roi Alexandre: Der Berliner Alexanderroman Handschrift 78 C 1 des Kupferstichkabinetts, Preussischer Kulturbesitz Berlin* (Stuttgart, 2002), pp. 247–259.

⁴ See Andrew Otwell, *Medieval Manuscript Marginalia and Proverbs*, www.heyotwell.com/work/arhistory/marginalia.html (1995), accessed 2010.

⁵ This concurs with a letter written by Lilian Randall to the Pierpont Morgan Library, which is preserved in their file, and the opinion of Elizabeth Moore Hunt, a specialist in this field. For extensive comparative material on the occurrence of proverbs and obscenae in the margins of earlier, contemporary, and later manuscripts and misericords, see Appendices 4 (Proverbs) and 5 (Obscenae).

⁶ I am thankful for the opportunity Martin Kauffmann granted me to spend a day with the grandest of all the Peacock manuscripts. The size of the Bodleian Peacock is almost as impressive as the amount of gilding; surely a manuscript fit for royalty.

⁷ [P8/A], Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cabinet des estampes, MS 3042.

⁸ IMGM.

and determining the way they might function in a different capacity based on their placement in a new environment: the margins. This approach is epitomized in Randall and Sandler's series of influential articles.⁹

The single most important study to focus interest on marginalia after Randall and Sandler is Michael Camille's *Image on the Edge: The Margins of Medieval Art*.¹⁰ The book was both controversial and purposefully provocative. A number of reviews constitute, in and of themselves, an integral part of the literature on marginalia.¹¹ Jeffrey F. Hamburger's rebuttal brought to light key problems such as Camille's debt to Meyer Schapiro and Emile Mâle, his focus on a 'High/Low' duality, and (I think most importantly) the issues of the autonomy of the illuminator.¹² Camille did, however, explore and provide examples of methodological approaches for studying marginalia in their original context. For example, his study of obscene subject matter was based on iconographic precedents in all

⁹ See Lilian Randall, "Exempla as a Source of Gothic Marginal Illustration," *Art Bulletin* 39, 2 (1957), pp. 25–38; eadem, "A Medieval Slander," *Art Bulletin* 42, no. 1 (1960), pp. 25–40; eadem, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare," *Speculum* 37 (1962), pp. 358–367; and eadem, "Games and the Passion in Pucelle's *Hours of Jeanne D'Evreux*," *Speculum* 47, no. 2 (1972), pp. 246–57. For the core group of Lucy Freeman Sandler's writing on marginalia, see: "Reflections on the Construction of Hybrids in English Gothic Marginal Illustrations," in *Art the Ape of Nature, Studies in Honor of H. W. Janson*, eds. M. Barasch and Lucy Freeman Sandler (New York, 1981), pp. 51–66; eadem, "A Bawdy Betrothal in the Ormesby Psalter," in *Tribute to Lotte Brand Philip: Art Historian and Detective*, eds. W.W. Clark, Colin Eisler, W.S. Heckscher, and B.G. Lande (New York, 1985), pp. 154–159; eadem, "The Word in the Text and the Image in the Margin: The Case of the *Luttrell Psalter*," *Journal of the Walters Art Gallery* 54 (1996), pp. 87–99; and eadem, "Pictorial and Verbal Play in the Margins: The Case of BL, Stowe MS 49," in *Illuminating the Book. Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*, eds. Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick (London, 1998), pp. 52–68.

¹⁰ Also, see Michael Camille's earlier book, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Chicago, 1989), for detailed explorations of themes in the marginalia.

¹¹ Jeffrey F. Hamburger, "Review of Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge*," *Art Bulletin* LXXV (1993), pp. 319–327. The works cited in Hamburger's footnotes reflect a methodology which incorporates interrelated material from other disciplines, such as theology, literature, and sociology. One of the most helpful elements of this review is a bibliography of largely untapped resources in Medieval German art and literature. For Hamburger's treatment of marginalia, see *The Rothschild Canticles: Art and Mysticism in Flanders and the Rhineland circa 1300* (New Haven, 1990), pp. 8–13, *passim*. For other important reviews, see: Kathryn Smith, "Liminal Limning," Review of Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge*, *Oxford Art Journal* 17, 1 (1994), pp. 92–96; Madeline Caviness, "Review of Michael Camille, *Image on the Edge*," *Studies in Iconography* 15 (1993), pp. 265–270; and Jean-Claude Schmitt, "Review of *Image on the Edge*," *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales*, 48e Année, No. 6, Mondes de l'Art (Nov.-Dec. 1993), pp. 1619–1622. Schmitt embraces the idea of the 'marginale' in other contexts; see p. 1620, "Marges de l'art, mais aussi marges géographiques du monde connu et marges de la société: l'iconographie marginale ne porte-t-elle pas en elle la tension entre seigneurs et travailleurs, entre riches et pauvres, entre culture savante et culture populaire, entre clercs et laïcs, entre sacré et profane, entre hommes et femmes?"

¹² Meyer Schapiro, "Marginal Images and Drôlerie," *Speculum* 45 (1970), pp. 684–686.

media, including contemporary literature. He analyzed the possibilities for text, image, and/or marginalia rapports in a broad sense and in the context of single manuscripts.¹³

Kathryn A. Smith notes in her review that Camille's "...polarization of sacred and profane is apparent in the discussion...of marginal obscenity and scatology."¹⁴ This observation is telling in an exploration of marginalia in a manuscript with *secular* literary contents, such as the Glazier Peacock. Smith, in her 2003 publication, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England*, discusses the literature on marginalia in the context of reception by the intended female owners of their books of hours:

[M]edieval culture focused on the parallels and resemblances between figures and events occurring at different points in or periods of sacred time. Medieval readers and viewers expected, sought out and responded to the formal and thematic parallels and repetitions so characteristic of medieval textual and visual imagery, and to the varied relations between verbal and visual imagery in their religious and conceptual environments.¹⁵

Camille's numerous articles on marginalia and his slim volume have maintained their importance, as much for the search for *meaning* for marginalia in different loci, as for analyzing formerly taboo imagery. The proof of his work's merit is the number of studies on marginalia which followed, including my own.¹⁶ His final legacy in contextualizing marginalia, albeit brief, is in his book, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions*. He writes:

These polymorphous bodies do not appear only at the edges of monumental sacred art or in the margins of Gothic manuscripts. They are also found on the most expensive luxury objects...Nothing is ever just decorative, especially not in Gothic art, although such objects continue to be classified as such.¹⁷

¹³ Valerie Allen, *On Farting: Language and Laughter in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2007).

¹⁴ Smith, "Liminal Limning," p. 94. I am grateful to Kathryn for sending me her article, "Margin," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012), pp. 29–44.

¹⁵ Kathryn A. Smith, *Art, Identity, and Devotion in Fourteenth-Century England: Three Women and their Books of Hours* (London, 2003), p. 168; and eadem, *The Taymouth Hours: Stories and the Construction of the Self in Late Medieval England* (Toronto, 2012).

¹⁶ See, for example, David A. Sprunger, "Parodic Animal Physicians from the Margins of Medieval Manuscripts," in *Animals in the Middle Ages: A Book of Essays*, ed. Nona C. Flores (New York, 1996), pp. 67–85.

¹⁷ Michael Camille, *Gothic Art: Glorious Visions* (New York, 1996), pp. 151–152; on the topic of marginalia, see chapter 4, 'New Visions of Nature: Bodies and Borders', pp. 151–153.

This is critical to my interpretation of the Glazier Peacock's marginalia.¹⁸

Madeline H. Caviness is another key scholar who shaped my approach to and understanding of marginalia. Most important to my methodology are Caviness' reconstructions of contemporary reception through the filters of feminism and queering.¹⁹ In light of the Glazier Peacock's obscenae, her exploration of the term 'obscenity' and how it may apply to medieval images is pertinent.²⁰ In her e-book, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries*, she explores, "the different roles that marginalia...contributed to gendered readings or messages that women and men read differently."²¹ Caviness was among the first to treat marginalia as a whole rather than as miniature islands of indeterminate meaning in a manuscript. In 1993 she wrote a challenging and sometimes unabashedly subjective feminist interpretation of marginalia in the *Hours of Jeanne d'Evreux*.²²

¹⁸ The movement toward the use of an interdisciplinary methodology, from the mid 1990s until now, has yielded impressive results. Sylvia Huot, a literary historian, was one of the first scholars to examine marginalia in a single manuscript as a 'visual gloss'; for example, in *The Romance of the Rose and Its Medieval Readers: Interpretation, Reception, Manuscript Transmission* (Cambridge, 1993), Chapter 8, 'The Notion of a Visual Gloss: Analogs for MS *M*', pp. 274–284.

¹⁹ For another bold statement by Caviness on the important 'messages in the margins,' which entail careful reconstructions of medieval reception(s), see: "Unnatural Spectacles, Aristotelian Precepts, and the Construction of Gender around 1300," in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander: The Making and Meaning of Illuminated Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts, Art and Architecture*, eds. Susan L'Engle and Gerald B. Guest (Turnhout, 2006), pp. 215–232. Caviness writes, p. 216, "My contention is that even the seemingly irrational and spontaneous motifs in the margins of many manuscripts of this period [early years of the fourteenth century] participated in ideological work, specifically in support of assigned behavior that were purportedly based on nature." Also see Caviness, "Marginally Correct," in *Tributes to Lucy Freeman Sandler*, pp. 141–156.

²⁰ Madeline H. Caviness, "Obscenity and Alterity: Images that Shock and Offend Us/Them, Now/Then," in *Obscenity, Social Control and Artistic Creation in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Jan M. Ziolkowski (Leiden, 1998), pp. 155–175.

²¹ Madeline Caviness, *Reframing Medieval Art: Difference, Margins, Boundaries* (Tufts University electronic book, 2001), <http://nils.lib.tufts.edu/Caviness>. This operates in tandem with Caviness, *Visualizing Women in the Middle Ages: Sight, Spectacle and Scopic Economy* (Philadelphia, 2001).

²² Madeline Caviness, "Patron or Matron? A Capetian Bride and a *Vade Mecum* for Her Marriage Bed," in *Studying Medieval Women: Sex, Gender, Feminism*, ed. Nancy F. Partner (Cambridge, 1993; reprint of *Speculum* 68/2, April, 1993), with updated bibliography pp. 31–60, and pp. 175–181. For a brief discussion of this article, see Sandler, "The Study of Marginal Imagery," p. 33, who writes that "Caviness' interpretation of marginal imagery is self-consciously autobiographical." I would argue that Caviness' efforts to do so constitute a major leap in the plurality of methodologies which may provide an inroad to understanding marginalia. For another highly-charged feminist study, which complements Caviness, I suggest E. Jane Burns, *Bodytalk: When Women Speak in Old French Literature* (Philadelphia, 2000). Burns writes, p. xi, "This book is about female bodies and what they say in Old

Another key work which incorporates reception theory is Andrew Taylor's article on the *Smithfield Decretals*.²³ It is especially pertinent here because Taylor examines the marginalia from multiple points of view in contemporary and period reception:

However we envisage it, the conflict [text versus marginalia] within these pages is one we half create while it half creates us. Our access to this guarded treasure is no more immediate or neutral now than it was in the fourteenth century; we do not approach it innocently or from an absolute without. Even before we have read it, it has already read us, inscribing us within its order...²⁴

A number of art historians also added to this group with work on the *Luttrell Psalter*. They include Camille, Sandler, and Michelle Brown.²⁵

Presently, marginalism and alterity have become 'central' as an integral part of studies of manuscripts in particular and medieval culture in general. In her 2001 textbook, Veronica Sekules commented on one manuscript concerning patronage and reception:

A spirit of pleasurable parody is *licensed* in the marginal illustrations of an early fourteenth-century Latin bible made in Flanders (BR, MS 9157, fol.1)... there is a strong element of fun at the expense of higher clergy, which may indeed be intentional self-mockery, based on an understanding both of the pleasures and the critical force of the scenes being represented.²⁶

Laura Kendrick's 2006, "Making Sense of Marginalized Images," is useful for her exploration of the reception and interpretation of *drôleries* in sculpture and manuscripts from the mid nineteenth century until the

French literary texts authored by men. My interest in the topic is not purely literary or theoretical but also personal and political. Directly implicated in this project is the complex relation between the fictive bodies and voices of medieval literary heroines and the problematic positioning of the historical bodies and voices of contemporary feminist academics working in the field of medieval studies."

²³ Andrew Taylor, "Playing on the Margins: Bakhtin and the Smithfield Decretals," in *Bakhtin and Medieval Voices*, ed. Thomas J. Farrell (Gainesville, 1995), pp. 17–37. Alixe Bovey, "A Pictorial *Ex Libris* in the *Smithfield Decretals*," in *English Manuscript Studies, 1100–1700*, ed. A.S.G. Edwards (London, 2002), pp. 60–82.

²⁴ Taylor, "Playing on the Margins," pp. 36–37.

²⁵ Sandler, "The Word in the Text," pp. 87–99. Michael Camille, *Mirror in Parchment: The Luttrell Psalter and the Making of Medieval England* (Chicago, 1998); Michelle Brown, *The World of the Luttrell Psalter*, (London, 2007), see chapter four, 'Wild Things: The Grotesques'; and eadem, *The Luttrell Psalter: A Facsimile*, (London, 2006).

²⁶ Veronica Sekules, *Medieval Art* (Oxford, 2001), pp. 184–185, no. 133. The emphasis is mine. Although Sekules wrote a fascinating description and interpretation of the marginalia-miniature rapport on this folio, she apparently holds to the notion that there was input from a patron and then license on the part of the artist. I am inclined to concur.

present.²⁷ She underlines the successful endeavors of interdisciplinary approaches. I fit into her category of “scholars of medieval vernacular literature [trying] to understand marginal images as evidence of medieval reactions to or interpretations of texts, in short, as a kind of visual commentary.”²⁸

Susan L'Engle's 2006 study of marginalia in Italian illuminated manuscripts of Roman and canon law builds on ideas explored by Meyer Schapiro, and expressed by Jeffrey Hamburger in his review of Camille's *Image on the Edge*.²⁹ In doing so, L'Engle poses her concerns and questions which touch at the very heart of interpretations of the artist's role in creating marginalia, a key element in my study of the Glazier Peacock:

... Can we distinguish whether an individual was actually seeking to innovate, that is, doing so by *intention*, or had instead activated or quoted a long-established composition or formula; and in the latter case, could we not regard artists as innovating within the use of conventional images by an inspired paraphrase? Can our modern concept of artistic license be applied to scribes and illuminators in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries?³⁰

After exploring various means for answering the questions she has posed, which bear directly on the Glazier Peacock, she writes in her closing:

The genital distortions [of some marginalia] might represent a special joke shared by artisans in the workplace or could conceivably have been one artist's means of making visible his most intimate psychological fancies.³¹

The most recent study of the Glazier Peacock's marginalia is *Les Marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)*, an ambitious group project headed by historian Jean Wirth.³² One of the highlights of this book is the

²⁷ L. Kendrick, “Making Sense of Marginalized Images in Manuscripts and Religious Architecture,” in *A Companion to Medieval Art: Romanesque and Gothic in Northern Europe*, ed. C. Rudolph (Oxford, 2006), pp. 286–289.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 288.

²⁹ Susan L'Engle, “Outside the Canon: Graphic and Pictorial Digressions by Artists and Scribes,” in *Tributes to Jonathan J.G. Alexander*, pp. 69–83.

³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 69.

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 77.

³² Jean Wirth with the collaboration of Isabelle Engammare and contributions by Andreas Bräm, Herman Braet, Frédéric Elsig, Isabelle Engammare, Adriana Fisch Hartley, and Céline Fressart, *Les marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)* (Paris, 2008). The most significant omission here is that of Rouse (2000). See Elizabeth Moore Hunt's highly diplomatic, “Review of Jean Wirth, *Les Marges à drôleries des manuscrits gothiques (1250–1350)*” *Studies in Iconography* 32 (2012), pp. 214–217; and Madeline H. Caviness's bolder 2011 review of the same, <http://www.caareviews.org/reviews/1699> (accessed 2013).

section 'Musique, Danse et Jonglerie', especially 'Le langage des instruments de musique'.³³ This is a heavily neglected area with potential for further research.³⁴ The hypothesis that musical performance is 'gendered' is a remarkable interpretation. In this fascinating scenario, women and angels play what is known as 'soft music'.³⁵ This directly impacts an assessment of the music-making marginalia of the Glazier Peacock.

This self-consciously revisionist work aggressively questions the methodologies used to date by American and British art historians for analyzing marginalia.³⁶ In the first chapter 'Problèmes de Méthode', the author writes, "Au risque de sembler injuste, il faut admettre que peu d'études récentes ont vraiment fait avancer la recherche sur les manuscrits à drôleries."³⁷ The writers forefront two methodologies in particular that they believe are impeding a proper understanding of marginalia: the 'prolifération' of text-image rapports, and the weak foundation of 'pluri-disciplinarité'.³⁸ This significantly limits their views.

It impoverishes the possibility for reconstructing reception by a medieval consumer. How can we establish a medieval reader's first experience of marginalia in a specific manuscript? What do they – man/woman, noble/burgher, layman/religious – bring to the process of looking at or reading marginalia? Is there a rule that impacts encountering marginalia surrounding a religious/Latin versus a secular/vernacular text? Wirth and his team never study the marginalia in a single manuscript. They do, however, repeatedly make mention of the scurrilous marginalia in the

³³ For images of music-making marginalia, using the correct terminology for instruments in the Glazier Peacock, see Terrence Ford and Andrew Green, *RidIM/RCMI Inventory of Music Iconography*, no. 3: *The Pierpont Morgan Library, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (New York, 1988), no. 198, p. 7.

³⁴ Surprisingly, there are no references to: Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and Their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology* (New Haven, 1979; reprint of 1967); Christopher Page, *Voices and Instruments of the Middle Ages* (London, 1987); Kathi Meyer-Baer, *Music of the Spheres and the Dance of Death: Studies in Musical Iconology* (Princeton, 1970); Reinhold Hammerstein, *Die Musik der Engel. Untersuchungen zur Musikanschauung des Mittelalters* (Bern, 1962); and Nicolas Bell's short but informative *Music in Medieval Manuscripts* (Toronto, 2001).

³⁵ Wirth, *Les marges*, p. 234: En somme, la dichotomie des instruments hauts et des instruments bas ne répond pas encore à hiérarchie, mais elle semble se mettre en place à travers la pratique musicale des femmes. Celles-ci évitent certainement les instruments de plein air bruyants qui demandent un effort physique, au profit des instruments doux.

³⁶ Isabelle Engammare, "Les marges à drôleries dans les manuscrits gothiques. Un enjeu méthodologique," *Cahiers de la Faculté des Lettres* (Genève), 1998, pp. 12–18.

³⁷ Wirth, *Les marges*, p. 17.

³⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 18.

so-called Hours of Marguerite de Beaujeu of c. 1300 and two contemporary Flemish Psalters.³⁹

On a more particular note, three different writers in three different sections comment on the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock – specifically on the identification of the Templar/flagellant conflated iconography. They are persistently critical of Randall's interpretation of them as such. Rather than confront the polysemous nature of marginalia, in this case individual and theme-related examples, they reduce and simplify the meaning to accommodate their own interpretation. "Dans les marges du *Voeu* [sic]... Randall identifie à tort les flagellants comme des templiers, bien que leur costume corresponde rigoureusement aux descriptions contemporaines des flagellants, en particulier dans la chronique tournaisienne de Gilles li Muisis."⁴⁰ The images in question are undoubtedly flagellants, as the famous miniature of a procession of flagellants in BR MS 13076–13077, fol. 16v confirms (fig. 44). But their *actions* in the Glazier Peacock – specifically arse-kissing – also define them as heretics in general and Templars in specific. On this very subject, Isabelle Engammare writes that this iconography refers to "un cérémonial supposé des hérétiques, le baiser anal ou *osculum infame*, dans le *Voeu* [sic] de Paon Glazier 24."⁴¹

The authors never address the unique quality of this iconography: they are not found in the margins of any other manuscript. They also fail to explore the marginalia's tie to specific historical events, or consider the reception of them. This element demands an analysis of the marginalia's possible function as an ensemble in relation to the *secular* text.

One of the authors returns to the Glazier Peacock and makes a problematic remark, "L'enlumineur [sic – there are *two* artists] étend sa vindicte..."⁴² His idea as it is expressed here identifies these images as

³⁹ London, BL MS Add. 36684, 1st part + NY, PML, 2nd part, MS 754. Upon examining this manuscript I found that many images of phalluses have been painted over or buffed out. This raises a number of questions concerning ownership and reception. The authors have omitted Paula Gerson's study of this manuscript, "Margins for Eros," *Romance Languages Annual* 5 (1993), pp. 47–53. The psalters are: London, BL Stowe 17 and Oxford, Bodleian Douce 5–6. There are only two paragraphs treating MS 754 on pp. 292–293 – this section is 'Les choix des commanditaires'. I find no evidence to support a hypothesis that the patrons played so great a role in this process; and this only with the religious. They reference these manuscripts over one hundred times. With this level of frequency it is apparent that they would provide the ideal example for single-manuscript analyses.

⁴⁰ Wirth, *Les marges*, pp. 323–324, n. 212; also see p. 281, n. 134, "Randall...les interprète à tort comme des templiers."

⁴¹ Engammare in Wirth, *Les marges*, pp. 139–140, Chapter III, 'Genèse iconographique des drôleries' (Glazier Peacock, fols. 72v, 93, 102; fig. 3.5.10).

⁴² Wirth, *Les marges*, p. 281.



Fig. 44. BR MS 13076–77, Gilles li Muisit, *Chroniques*, fol. 16v, det., Procession of flagellants (photo with permission: BR).

products of the artist's own imagination.⁴³ His conclusions rest on short examinations of multiple manuscripts where he documents anti-clericalism, which targets specific religious orders.⁴⁴ One fascinating remark, however, places these “extrêmement féroces”⁴⁵ marginalia in a larger social context and deserves further exploration:

Le Voeu [sic] *du Paon* Glazier 24 confirme la corrélation approximative que nous observons entre les attaques anticléricales dirigées contre le plus gros du clergé et les drôleries blasphématoires dont l'eucharistie est la cible.⁴⁶

This entire argument hinges on their interpretation of the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock.⁴⁷ I feel strongly that Wirth's proposal of using

⁴³ Elsig, in Wirth, *Les marges*, pp. 287–296, also wrote a section misleadingly called ‘Les choix des commanditaires’, where he suggests that the patron played a critical role in choosing the subject matter of the marginalia.

⁴⁴ Wirth, *Les marges*. For example, p. 294, he remarks that “...[le] commanditaire [of the Missal of Jean de Marchel, La Haye 78.D.40] est l'abbé des prémontrés de Saint-Jean à Amiens et les drôleries traduisent son hostilité envers les ordres mendiants.”

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 281.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, Chapter IV, ‘Un univers iconographique’, see the section by Elsig, ‘La ridiculisation du système religieux’, pp. 276–287; Elsig makes his case for the identification of the figures in question as only flagellants, p. 281, n. 134; in a section entitled ‘La dérision des sacrements’, p. 305, (fig. 4-5.21).

⁴⁷ Another element in this study which merits further investigation is Andreas Bräm's exploration of the place of production, in this case Arras. Andreas Bräm, “Ein Buchmalereiatelier in Arras um 1274,” *Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch* 54 (1993), pp. 77–110.

formalist systems of classification circumvents the possibility for finding any deeper meaning. Instead, Wirth's arguments rest on brief case studies, oftentimes of a single folio.⁴⁸

Presently, Elizabeth Moore Hunt – whose interdisciplinary methodology overlaps and impacts my own – is making important contributions to the field. Her *Illuminating the Borders of Northern French and Flemish Manuscripts*, of 2007, discusses the 'genesis' of marginalia via a series of case studies in a specific context.⁴⁹ She is the most recent scholar to work on the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock. In an article on *jongleurs* in marginalia, Hunt discusses the figure in the margin on fol. 3v in the Glazier Peacock in light of gender studies and reception theory. She remarks on the ideological dynamic created by juxtaposing this figure with the miniatures in general and the miniature on fol. 4 in specific, stating that "...naked *jongleurs*...inscribe social norms of masculinity near scenes that are decidedly non-militaristic and thus call into question the terms of masculine identity."⁵⁰

My personal methodology recognizes that a medieval viewer's experience of marginalia in the specific context of the codex and of contemporary culture was broad and richly varied. Importantly, the marginalia are components of a dialogue established by coinciding units of visual and textual meaning and set into motion by the experiences and expectations of the reader. They create meaning on various levels within the Glazier Peacock's text-miniature-marginalia dialogue. Examined one by one, the marginalia oftentimes constitute islands of self-sufficient narrative in the

⁴⁸ The exception is Herman Braet, who recently published an interpretation of marginalia in a single manuscript with the *Roman de la rose*, "Entre folie et raison," in Verbeke, *Risus mediaevalis*, pp. 43–73 (not consulted). On this same manuscript see Sylvia Huot, "Vignettes marginales comme glose marginale dans un manuscrit du *Roman de la rose* au quatorzième siècle (BnF ms. fr. 25526)," *Littérales*, 2 (1987), pp. 173–186; and eadem, "The Marginalia of MS *Mi*: An Overview," part of Chapter 8, 'Sacred and Erotic Love: The Visual Gloss of MS BnF fr. 25526', in *The 'Romance of the Rose' and Its Medieval Readers* (Cambridge, 1993), pp. 285–291.

⁴⁹ Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders*. Also, see: eadem, "The Naked Jongleur in the Margins: Manuscript Contexts for Social Meanings," in *The Meanings of Nudity in Medieval Art*, ed. Sherry C.M. Lindquist (New York, 2012), pp. 105–127. I am very grateful to Sherry for sending me a copy of this book; eadem, "The Urban Fabric and Framework of Ghent in the Margins of Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Douce 5–6," in *Als Ich Can: Liber Amicorum in Memory of Professor Dr. Maurits Smeyers*, ed. Bert Cardon, Corpus of Illuminated Manuscripts, Low Countries, Series 8, vols. 11–12 (Leuven, 2002), pp. 983–1006; eadem "Review of Sarah Larratt Keefer and Rolf H. Bremmer, eds., *Signs on the Edge: Space, Text and Margin in Medieval Manuscripts* (Leuven, 2007)," *Manuscripta* 56 (2012), pp. 217–22. I am grateful to Elizabeth for sharing her ideas and articles with me.

⁵⁰ Hunt, "The Naked Jongleur," p. 119.

form of proverbs. Taken one on one, in relation to the subject matter of the text and miniatures, the marginalia's derisive humor often operates in counterpoint to and as an extension of the refined world of *l'amour courtois*. In order to gauge the possibilities for multiple reactions to the marginalia, we must reconstruct various methods of viewing/reading: one page or opening, from recto to verso, or throughout the manuscript. The text/image-triggered or -related marginalia are few, indicating that the illuminators reacted primarily to visual stimuli and for the most part chose the marginalia based on criteria other than the adjacent text.

Treated as an ensemble in the specific case of the Glazier Peacock, the marginalia offer evidence of attitudes towards real and imagined heresies and the architecture of period laughter. They are fragmentary souvenirs of the live performer's spontaneous gestures and oral intrusions committed to parchment for the silent reader's highly personalized delectation. This ensemble of marginalia is an embedded performance which relies on the smooth sequential flow of the text's story-telling narrative to force into effect its own rule of conduct, *misconduct*, characterized by erraticness, mimicry and mockery. The reader's simultaneous visual ingestion and mental digestion of the parts of this whole constitute a polyphony every bit as complex as the medieval motet. Dismissing marginalia as a minor, decorative element or reducing them to a cog in the evolution of 'style' creates a medieval closet of our own making.

THE INTERNAL DYNAMICS: CODEX, TEXTS, MINIATURES, AND MARGINALIA

In the first section of the Glazier Peacock, with the *Voeux*, the appearance of one or more *laisse*-header initials (*not*, surprisingly, miniatures) on a folio triggers a systematic visual treatment, which includes foliate marginal extenders and marginalia.⁵¹ It follows, then, that the addition of the marginalia was dependent not on the content, but the architectonics of

⁵¹ For example, on fol. 88 a miniature appears with no marginalia. It seems that the initials and extenders were executed first in instances where the marginalia interact with them: eating, standing on, or swinging from; alternatively, some marginalia appear to be covered by the extenders. The artists responsible for the miniatures may have executed the marginal extenders as is suggested by the instance in the *bas-de-page* on fol. 107 where both elements were executed simultaneously: here, a hybrid is coiled around the extender. In a personal communication, Lucy Freeman Sandler pointed out that the relationship between marginalia and *laisse* may be connected with performance.

the text and, ultimately, on the financial agreement between patron and artist where pricing was contingent on decoration.⁵²

The Glazier Peacock lacks three quires of eight, nine separate leaves from the *Voeux*, and approximately two quires of eight from the *Restor*.⁵³ In an attempt to analyze the total group of marginalia it must be understood that of the sixty-six lost sides, there would have been at least forty-one *laisse* header initial changes with their accompanying marginalia; at present, 216 of the 282 extant sides bear marginalia, amounting to 621 images.⁵⁴

Real as well as imaginary animals and occupations of medieval life comprise this world in miniature. At times, it is based on a rearrangement of the real, creating humor by exchanging and/or interchanging the expected roles of humans and animals both physically, in the form of hybrids, and occupationally. Broadly speaking, there are three species of marginalia: humans, animals, and hybrids. The artists' hybridization preferences tend to long necks, which are sometimes twisted like a pretzel, a feature advantageous for use in vertical margins. This is especially suitable for storks and serpents.

Classification divulges that the humans (by this I mean non-hybrids) are mostly males (forty-four out of fifty) from the classes which worked physically or intellectually to support and entertain the rich. Even when treating a 'noble' subject such as the hunt, only the servant chasing the dogs or blowing the horn is seen. In this manner, the marginalia are the extension of the aristocratic world of the miniatures, much as the fields surrounding a castle. Class differentiation is made clear via profession or poor manners, especially nudity and drunken behavior.⁵⁵ The six images of women, as with the men, show members from the lower classes: an entertainer; a musician; aids participating in hunts or hawking; and a mother with child on fol. 10 (fig. 45). The artist has depicted the mother with her dress bunched in one hand, revealing her stockings and shoes. She carries a baby in swaddling clothing on her head.

The foliate marginal extenders – a conceit of folded sycamore leaves, which twist and bud in sprays – create a garden space. Not surprisingly, some of the hybrids have budding extremities as, for example, on fol. 9v

⁵² See Alexander, *Medieval Illuminators*.

⁵³ Given the late date, could it have included the *Parfait* as well? For the codicological structure of the Glazier Peacock, see Catalogue no. 9, Chart 9.

⁵⁴ They are documented in full and classified in my Index of Marginalia.

⁵⁵ See J.J.G. Alexander, "Labeur et Paresse: Ideological Representations of Medieval Peasant Labor," *Art Bulletin* 72 (1990), pp. 443–452.

(fig. 46). This is an appropriate realm for a panoply of wild and domestic animals – potential visual prey, food, possessions, and objects for delectation by the viewer – and wildmen (there are seventeen). On fol. 16v, a wildman is pulling a lion's whiskers (fig. 47).⁵⁶ They are also implied sources of aural discord or entertainment. Most numerous among these by far are birds: there are ninety. Fifty-one of them are songbirds and eighteen are stork-like wading birds.

A long-billed bird appears in a variety of forms in the Glazier Peacock. It is unclear if these birds are storks, cranes or ibises. Commentaries on these wading birds in religious texts or bestiaries provide some insight into their contemporary reception, albeit varied and contradictory. Honoré d'Autun, in his commentary on Psalm 101, identifies the pelican, as



Fig. 45. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 9v, det., Woman carrying an infant (photo with permission: PML).

Fig. 46. PML MS G24, fols. *Voeux du paon*, fol. 10, det., Dog-headed hybrid (photo with permission: PML).

⁵⁶ New York, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, *The Wild Man: Medieval Myth and Symbolism*, exh. cat., ed. Timothy Husband (New York, 1988); see especially pp. 6–7 and 51–52. Also see Richard Bernheimer, *Wild Men in the Middle Ages: A Study in Art, Sentiment and Demonology* (Cambridge, Mass., 1952).

well as aquatic and wading birds, as symbols of the spiritual ignorance of the pre-Christian gentiles (Alexander the Great?).⁵⁷ Bestiaries interpret cranes as vigilant and symbolic of Christian foresight and wisdom.⁵⁸ The ibis is said to possess the power to eat all manner of disgusting matter because it can afterwards administer itself an enema with its own beak and thus clean out its bowels, a symbol for carnal man.⁵⁹

Obviously, birds are a central textual theme for the Peacock poems, which revolve around the killing of, vowing over, feasting on, and refashioning of a peacock. Oddly enough, there is only *one* image of a peacock, on fol. 10v; another important reminder that the text was *not* the main source of inspiration for the Glazier Peacock's marginalia (fig. 48). Recognizable animals from the farm include: thirteen chickens, twenty-four dogs, seventeen rabbits, two cats, five donkeys, a mouse, three horses, three rams, and three fish. This artist's attention to detail in his depiction of a sow protecting her young on fol. 57 is inventive and comedic (fig. 49). There



Fig. 47. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 16v, det., Lion and wildman (photo and permission: PML).

⁵⁷ Horst Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* (Princeton, 1982), p. 178; also see the discussion, p. 184, of large water or swamp fowl, which – analyzed in light of Classical, Biblical and Patristic texts and Romanesque art – are said to symbolize the unawareness of spiritual values and to represent generically the perverse or sinful.

⁵⁸ Beryl Rowland, *Birds with Human Souls: A Guide to Bird Symbolism* (Knoxville, 1978), p. 33 (the crane is a symbol of Christian foresight and wisdom); p. 161 (the stork is a symbol of piety and a good parent; it nests on castles). T.H. White, trans. and ed., *The Bestiary: The Book of Beasts* (London, 1954): p. 110 (the crane is a pathfinder and sentry and flies in military formation); and p. 117 (the stork is an enemy of serpents).

⁵⁹ Claude Gaignebet and Jean-Dominique Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire au moyen âge* (Paris, 1985), p. 55; White, *The Bestiary*, pp. 119–120.



Fig. 48. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 10v, det., Peacock (photo and permission: PML).

are also wild animals, such as a stag, a boar, a fox, and four bears, even two examples of the mythical unicorn; one of the last on fol. 9v (fig. 50).⁶⁰

The animal which appears the most frequently – eighty-four times – is the ape. This animal epitomizes the topsy-turvy tradition of humor where an animal ‘apes’ the human world, as in the case where an ape rides a human steed on fol. 98v (fig. 51). There are apes as clergy, knights, hunters, pilgrims, musicians, and teachers. Apes also provide unrelenting scatological and obscene humor as in the miniature of fol. 23v where an

⁶⁰ Restor 2, I, 20–22, ll. 350–351, tells of the “...dragon,/ Lijon, ours et serpent, lupart, escorpion,/ Qui d'enfans et de feme fisent devorison” (dragon, lion, bear and serpent, leopard, scorpion, which devour women and children).



Fig. 49. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 57, det., Sow and piglets (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 50. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 9, det., Rearing unicorn (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 51. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 99v, det., Monkey with shield riding a contorted man (photo with permission: PML).

ape defecates into a demon-headed hybrid's mouth and is converted to music as the other part of the hybrid, a man, plays an instrument (fig. 52).

Marginalia oftentimes depict scenes from everyday life. On fol. 12, a dog sniffs another dog's arse and/or genitalia, and on fol. 69v a cock and hen mate (figs. 53, 54). The housewife's distaff and spindle – signifiers of the female domestic realm – are ubiquitous. In the Glazier Peacock, on fol. 42, a woman with distaff and spindle chases a cat, and on fol. 113v a woman threatens with the same (fig. 55).⁶¹

⁶¹ The image of a woman armed with a distaff threatening a cat, fox or husband is common in marginalia and occurs frequently in contemporary and earlier literature. See, for example, D.D.R. Owen, trans., *The Romance of Reynard the Fox* (Oxford, 1994), p. 17: Young Martin's mother wakes, jumps up, lights the candle, and picks up her distaff...Then Tibert [the cat] was well set upon, for he took delivery of a hundred blows before he got out of the house.

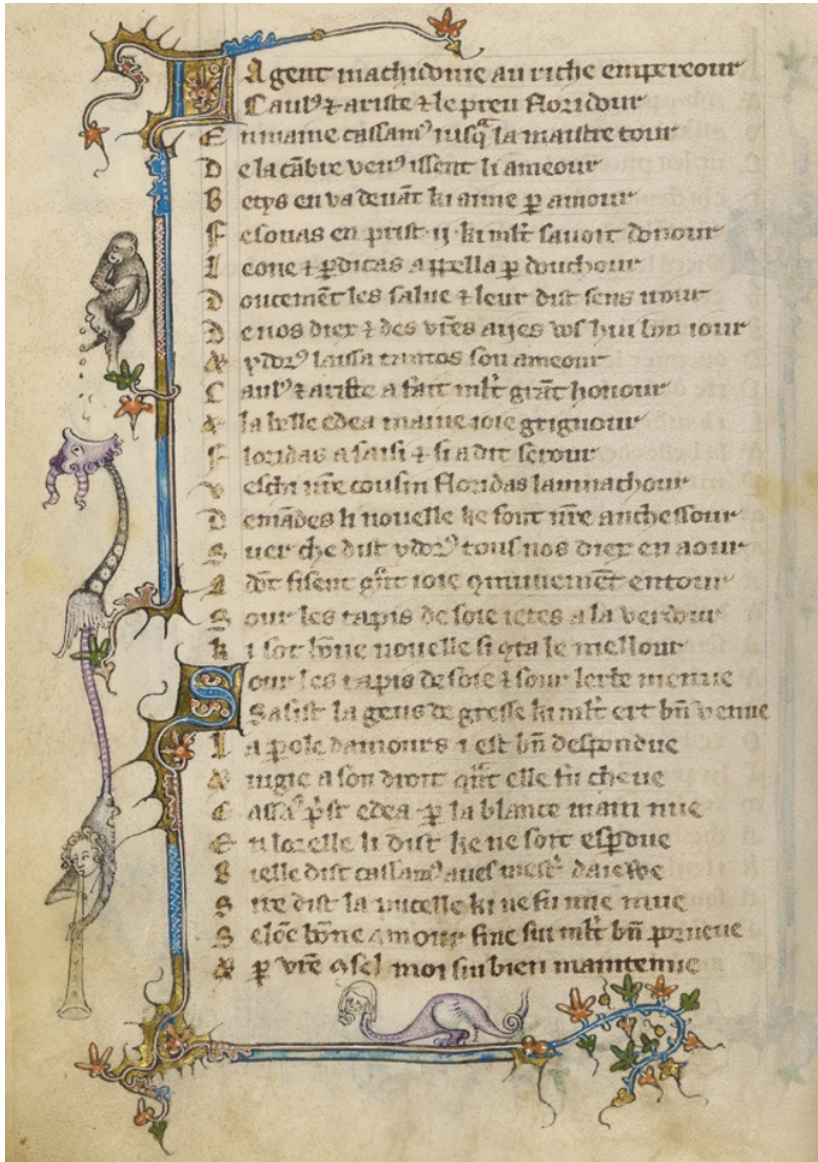


Fig. 52. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 23v, Monkey defecating into a hybrid's mouth (photo and permission: PML).



Fig. 53. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 12, det., Dog sniffing another dog (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 54. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 69v, det., Chicken mating (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 55. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 42, det., Woman standing on a hybrid dog raising distaff and spindle to chase away a cat (photo and permission: PML).

Though not physically present in the Glazier Peacock, the *Roman d'Alexandre*, connected as it is thematically to the Peacock poems, may have inspired marginalia, or at least served as a point of reference for understanding some of them.⁶² Alexander voyaged to far-away lands and strange places, making both underwater and heavenly journeys. The *Restor* recounts:

Bien fu dit qu'Alixandres, li rois macedonois, / Convoita tout le monde
et puis ot a son cois / Sor terre et air et mer et seignourie et vois / Et des
autres serviches et hommages et fois. / En mer se fist geter en un tonnel
voirrois... / Et si se fist en l'air en un cuir de biois, / A .iiii. grans griffons
fameilleus et destroyes / Porter (par) tout le monde vëoir... (Restor I,
ll. 12–22).

As it is well known, Alexander, king of Macedon, desired to see the entire world and was able to travel by both air and sea. He had all lords at his

⁶² David Williams, *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* (Exeter, 1996), p. 10, writes, "The language of the monstrous is parasitic, depending on the existence of conventional languages; it feeds so to speak at their margins." Also see: John Block Friedman, *The Monstrous Races in Medieval Art and Thought* (Cambridge, MA, 1981); Alixe Bovey, *Monsters and Grotesques in Medieval Manuscripts* (London, 2002); and Elizabeth Morrison, *Beasts Factual and Fantastic* (Los Angeles, 2007).

beck and call on land and service and homage and pledges of faith. Under the sea he traveled in a glass vessel... and he mounted in the air in a leather device borne by four hungry griffons that carried him to see the entire world...

These fantastic, travel-related episodes tell of imaginary monstrous races, creatures from the 'edge of the world'.⁶³ Thus, it is no surprise that the reader/viewer encounters an 'auto-andropophagist', a cannibal who eats his own severed leg, on fol. 26v; or three mermaids – one wielding a sword on fol. 66v (fig. 56). A specific image from the *Roman d'Alexandre* – the tale of Nectanebo being pushed to his death by the child Alexander – could elucidate the mysterious images of nude men 'falling' down the vertical margin on fols. 73 and 119 (fig. 57).



Fig. 56. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 26v, det., Autoanthropophagist (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 57. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 119, det., Nude man falling (photo with permission: PML).

⁶³ See Baltrušaitis, *Le Moyen Âge fantastique*; Williams, *Deformed Discourse*; Naomi Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought: The Hereford Paradigm* (Woodbridge, 2001); and Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*.

Whereas the *Roman d'Alexandre* recounts Alexander's voyages, the Peacock poems foreground the story-telling art of the fourteenth-century courtly milieu, another internal means for the Glazier Peacock to 'generate' marginalia, or at least predispose the reader/viewer to them. Take, for example, the description of the Caliph's treasure, which includes a hunt scene composed of automata executed in gold. There we find: raptors such as the "*espriviers [and] faucons*," which attack waterfowl and songbirds, "*mallars, pertris, louseignols, aloes [and] mauvis*"; dogs in pursuit of deer and boar; and a bejeweled *mappa mundi* (Restor I, lines 687–714). Recurrent topoi in the texts and miniatures in the Glazier Peacock (and fourteenth-century courtly literature in general) are the battlefield and the feasting table.⁶⁴

Two related thematic strands in the marginalia are: 1), combat and aggression; and 2), the act of eating and related bodily functions. Of the latter, the preponderance of scatological marginalia continues a tradition associated with Northern French and Flemish manuscript illumination.⁶⁵

Some seem to have been creative triggers from sheer visual 'exuberance'. Folio-to-folio rapports hint at the spontaneous creative mechanism at work. In this respect, there are four weapon-wielding figures spread out across the opening at fols. 66v–67 (figs. 58, 59). On fol. 66v, a mermaid raises a sword and a hybrid holds an axe, while on fol. 67, a man rests on the pommel of a sword and a Templar raises a sword as if to behead a kneeling cleric. On fol. 66v, even the wading bird's scissor-like beak recalls the sword motif.⁶⁶

MORALS IN THE MARGINS: TEXTUAL GENRES AND THEIR VISUAL COUNTERPARTS

Four categories of marginalia create dominant iconographic strands in the reader-manuscript dialogue: moralizing images, orally aggressive hybrids, carnivalesque images, and scatological obscenae.

⁶⁴ Battle scenes occur in the miniatures on fols. 30v, 32, 34v, 36, 37v, 55 (jousting scene), 80v, 82v, 85v, 86, 86v, 88, 88v, 95v, and 97. Feasting scenes occur in the miniatures on fols. 43v (hunting the peacock), 44, and 52.

⁶⁵ Religious manuscripts with comparable marginalia from the same region include: Hours (partial), executed for Marguerite de Beaujeu, now split between London, BL, ms. Add. 36684 and New York, PML, ms. 754, Franco-Flemish, c. 1320. See Camille, *Image on the Edge*, for text-image puns, passim.; and the Psalter of Louis le Hutin, Tournai, Cathedral Treasury, Tournai, 1315; IMGM, figs. 526, 527, and 533.

⁶⁶ These examples demonstrate that the marginalia were not necessarily painted on separate folios in a quire.

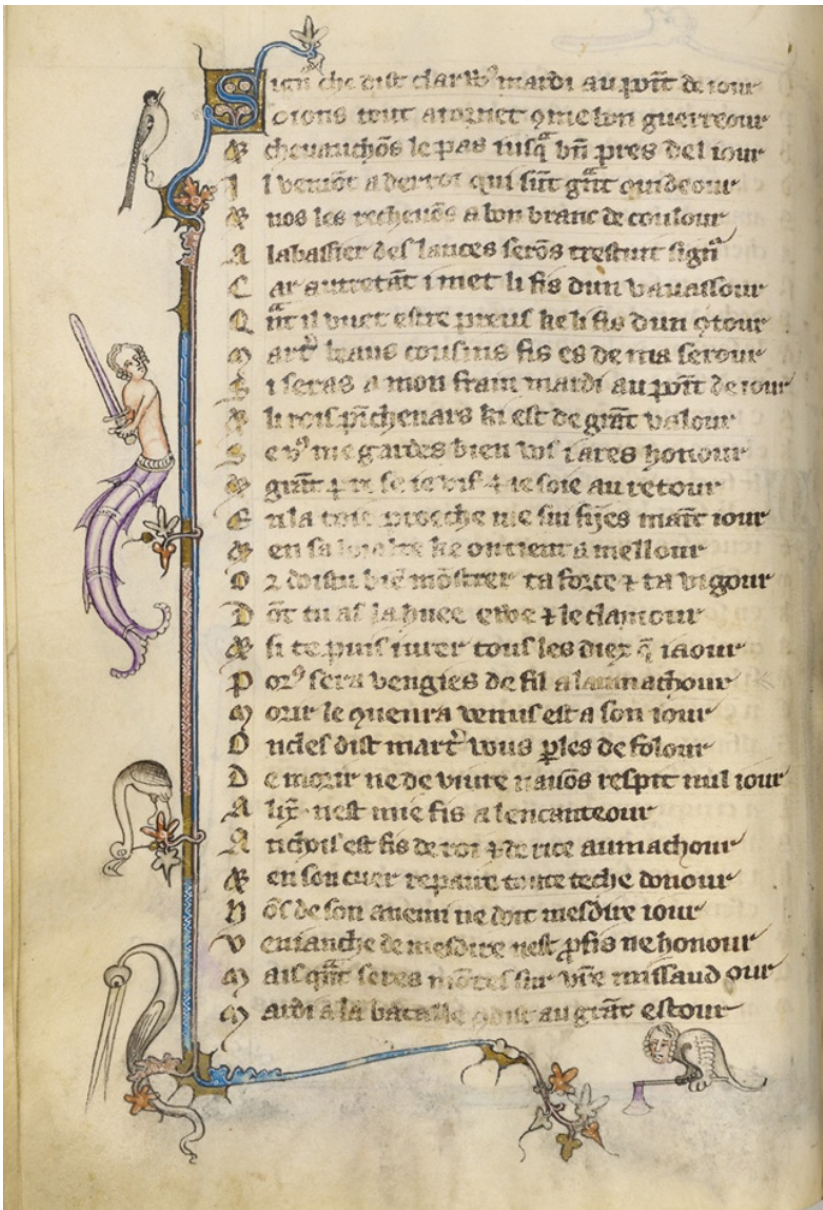


Fig. 58. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon* fol. 66v, Mermaid with sword (photo with permission: PML).

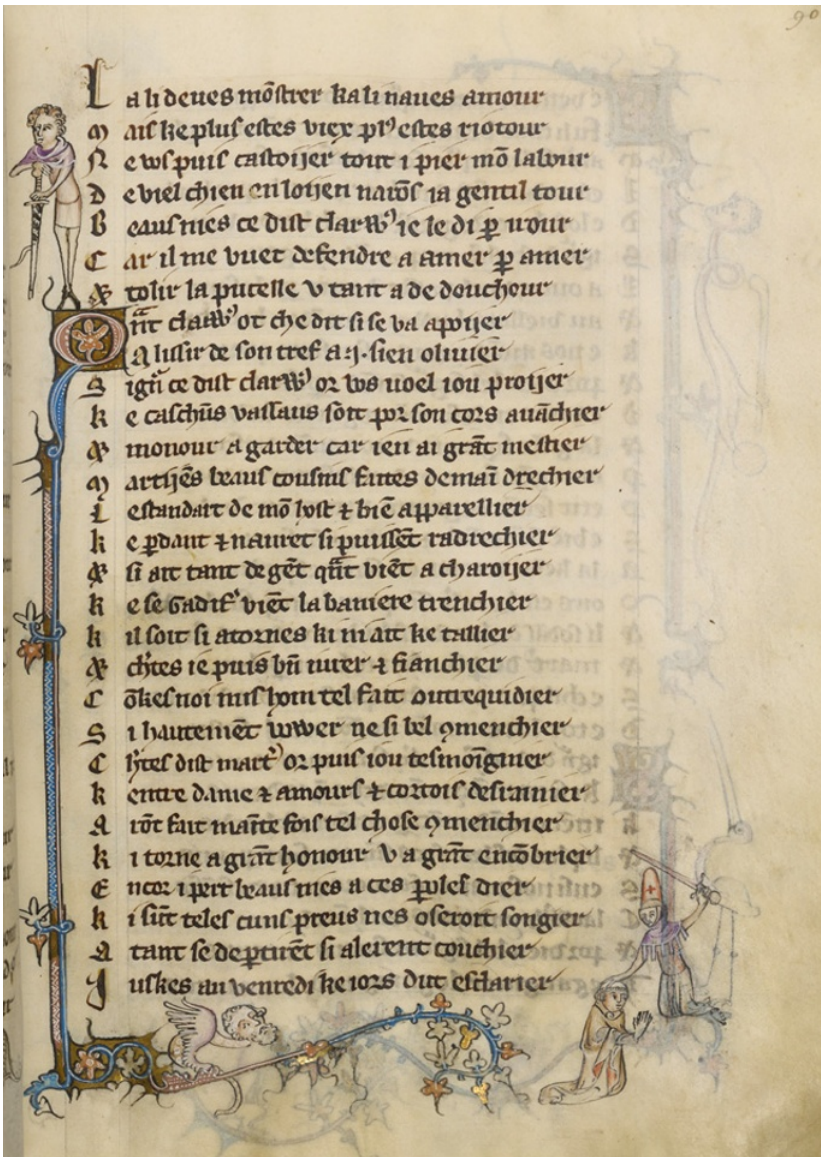


Fig. 59. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 67, Templar/flagellant decapitating a monk (photo with permission: PML).

Proverbs, fables, fabliaux and exempla, considered as a subgroup in the Glazier Peacock, contribute to a pool of this moralizing imagery that accumulates while viewing the manuscript either folio by folio, or through ‘haphazard’ viewing.⁶⁷ Though the overall effect is the same, it is the structuring of the subgroup that builds first by framing, then by visually ‘speckling’ the text. This operates in a fashion reminiscent of the authors’ use of proverbs which lard the narratives of the *Voeux* and *Restor*. Of the *Restor*, Edith Donkin writes, “Brisebarre used [almost fifty] proverbs to introduce and to close his work and also to support his arguments.”⁶⁸ In the Bodleian Alexander, the opening lines of the *Restor* incorporate proverbs which inculcate the notion, in a fashion reminiscent of the Bible, that precious goods should not be hidden, but shared:

On dist en .i. proverbe, et si l’apporte drois, / Q’uiseuse est molt nuiseuse; et se dist li Englois / Que pau vaut sens repus ne avoires enfouois, / Dont ciex qui set les biens ne doit pas estre cois. (*Restor* I, ll. 2–5)⁶⁹

It is said in a proverb that laziness is most harmful; and the English say that it makes no sense to hide a buried treasure, for those who have knowledge must not be silent.

In closing, Brisebare writes:

Explicit du paon, bien ait qui le lira / Et qui en tous endrois le dit en prisera. / Dur bien doit on bien dire, choi dire piecha. (*Restor* II, ll. 1340–1342)⁷⁰

Here ends the Paon. Good luck to those who read it and who will admire every part of this poem. I have heard it said that one must speak well of what is good.

Donkin goes on to write, “...these [proverbs] do not convey a general truth relating to the work but rather serve to sanction it.”⁷¹

⁶⁷ On fourteenth-century reading practices, see Jacqueline Cerquiglini-Toulet, *La Couleur de la mélancolie: la fréquentation des livres au XIV^e siècle* (Paris, 1993), especially pp. 160–181; Cerquiglini-Toulet, p. 160, cites a passage from poet Jean Froissart, “Il l’ouvry et regarda ens...plusieurs lieux et y lisy” (He [King Richard II] opened [a manuscript with all Froissart’s poems] and looked inside...in different places, and he read); Jean Froissart, *Chroniques*, ed. Kervyn de Lettenhove, *Oeuvres de Froissart*, vol. XV, book 4 (Brussels, 1871), p. 167. I am grateful to Nancy Regalado for this citation.

⁶⁸ *Restor* 2, p. 270. On proverbs, see: Le Roux de Lincy, *Le Livre des proverbes français et recherches historiques*, 2nd ed. (Paris, 1859); Józef Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XV^e siècle* (Paris, 1925); and William G. Smith, *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 1970).

⁶⁹ *Restor* 2, p. 62.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, 2, p. 135.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, notes on lines 3–5, p. 200. In Dennis M. Kratz, trans., *The Romances of Alexander* (New York, 1991), the author, p. xxvi, cites the example of the Swedish *Konung Alexander*,

Contemporary authors sometimes furnished internal evidence for this type of interpretation. For example, Branch VII of the *Roman de Renart*, *Reynard Eats his Confessor*, begins with a list of proverbs, "It is foolish to believe one's idle thoughts. What a fool thinks rarely comes about..." It culminates in the author's statement, "This moralizing of mine is aimed at Reynard, that maniac who acts against nature."⁷² The incipit to an *Ysopet-Avionnet* text dedicated to Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne (c.1293–1349) also aids in reconstructing possibilities for the contemporary reception of this genre:⁷³

Ci commence la compilation de 'Ysopet Avionnet'. / Ce livret que cy vous recite / plaist a ouir et si profite; / et pour ce que plus delitables / soit, y a maintes beles fables...⁷⁴

Here begins the collection of *Ysopet Avionnet*. May this little book that I recite for you here be pleasing to the ear and edifying. To make it enjoyable, there are many beautiful fables...

The *Ysopet-Avionnet* is heavily illuminated in three nearly identical manuscripts from the 1340s, providing a rich, parallel manifestation of the imagery found in the Glazier Peacock's marginalia.⁷⁵ Records of proverbs also appear in archival documents of luxury goods. The entry for a silver-gilt *pot* in the 1365 inventory of Louis d'Anjou (1339–1383) provides a description of visual and verbal proverbs. Its decoration consisted of depictions of "the six months of the year (six labors of the months)" on the lid, and images of "several proverbs...with the text below" on the body.⁷⁶

a c. 1380 translation of the *Historia de Preliis* composed for the powerful aristocrat Bo Jonsson Grip. Therein, changes include the insertion of "countless moralizing proverbs... and...numerous details drawn from life in fourteenth-century Sweden," which, p. xxvi, are "not to recreate antiquity but to visualize Alexander in terms that would prove attractive and meaningful to a contemporary audience." On the moral world of the proverb, see André Jolles, *Formes simples*, trans. Antoine Marie Buguet (Paris, 1972). I thank Nancy Regalado for this last citation.

⁷² Owen, *The Romance of Reynard*, p. 131, lines 1–47.

⁷³ There are three fourteenth-century manuscripts with the version of the text that was composed for Queen Jeanne de Bourgogne. The incipit appears in all three: BL, Add. 33781; BnF, ms. fr. 1594; and BR, MS 1193.

⁷⁴ This citation, with full bibliography, is available on the website for ARLIMA, www.arlima.net, listed under 'Avionnet'.

⁷⁵ For a discussion with full bibliography for the Brussels manuscript and the connection between the manuscripts, see Camille Gaspar and Frédéric Lyna, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique*, vol. 2 (Paris, 1947), pp. 307–310, cat. no. 124. I thank Gerald Guest for making this text available to me. For a study of *Ysopet* manuscripts, with bibliography, see Busby, *Codex and Context*, vol. I, pp. 212–224.

⁷⁶ Cited in Ronald W. Lightbown, *Secular Goldsmiths' Work in Medieval France: A History* (London, 1978), pp. 70–71, n. 11.

Proverbs were transmitted both in everyday speech and via formalized, written collections.⁷⁷ The latter include: the *Distiques de Caton*, which was used for teaching purposes;⁷⁸ the *Dits et proverbes des Sages*;⁷⁹ the *Fables*⁸⁰ of Marie de France;⁸¹ and the *Isopets*, from Aesop the fabulist.⁸² The last was often combined with a translation of eighteen of the forty-two fables of Avianus, a collection known as the *Ysopet-Avionnet*, mentioned above. Vincent de Beauvais includes twenty-nine fables in his *Speculum historiale* of c. 1240, which was translated by Jean de Vignay in 1333 as the *Miroir historial*.

In the Glazier Peacock, images of proverbs can function through an edifying religious filter as exempla. From a purely secular point of view, they are bursts of wisdom which sometimes occur in raucous forms of jongleuresque entertainment. Depicting proverbs, I would argue, transforms them into abbreviated narratives because of the rapid, simultaneous manner in which they may be read at the literal level (their constituent parts) and the 'proverbial' level. It is important to note, however, that *none*

⁷⁷ See Morawski, *Proverbes français*, and James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto, 1982). For studies on the function of proverbs in contemporary literature, see: François Suard, "La fonction des proverbes dans les chansons de geste des XIVe et XVe siècles," in *Richesse du proverbe, 1: le proverbe au Moyen Âge*, eds. François Suard and Claude Buridant (Villeneuve, 1984); Jean-Claude Faucon, "La sagesse populaire au service du roi: de l'utilisation des proverbes par un chroniqueur du XIVe siècle," in Suard, *Richesse du proverbe*, pp. 87–111; and Elizabeth Schulze-Busacker, *Proverbes et expressions proverbiales dans la littérature narrative du Moyen Âge français, Recueil et analyse* (Paris, 1985).

⁷⁸ For a complete bibliography, see DLF, pp. 227–228. Jean Lefèvre (c. 1320 – after 1380), procureur de Parlement, translated this collection of verse proverbs into French in the fourteenth century, and it survives in twenty manuscripts. See J. Ulrich, "Traductions d'Adam de Suel, de Jean de Paris ou du Chastelet, et de Jean Lefèvre," *Romanische Forschungen* 15 (1903), pp. 41–49.

⁷⁹ For a complete bibliography, see DLF, p. 387. This work, collected c. 1340 by Augustin Bongenou, survives in thirty fourteenth- and fifteenth-century manuscripts. The contents range from nine to 149 quatrains which the author variously attributes to a poet, philosopher, or biblical source; see Józef Morawski, ed., *Les diz et proverbes des Sages*, (Paris, 1924).

⁸⁰ Proverbs as a genre represent the everyday world whereas fables reflect a learned tradition.

⁸¹ For the text, see Harriet Spiegel, ed. and trans., *Marie de France, Fables* (Toronto, 1987). On the manuscripts, see George C. Keidel, "The History of French Fable Manuscripts," *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America* 24 (1909), pp. 207–219, and F. Vieliard, "Sur la tradition manuscrite des Fables de Marie de France," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes* 147 (1989), pp. 371–397.

⁸² See Kenneth McKenzie and William A. Oldfather, eds., *Ysopet-Avionnet. The Latin and French Texts* (Urbana, 1919), and Norman R. Shapiro, trans., *Fables from Old French: Aesop's Beasts and Bumpkins* (Middletown, CT, 1982). For a record of the sale of *Le roman des sept sages et d'Ysopet*, owned by Queen Clemence of Hungary (1315–1328), to Queen Jeanne d'Évreux (d. 1371), see Louis Douët d'Arcq, *Nouveau recueil de comptes de l'argenterie des rois de France* (Paris, 1874), p. 151.

of the eighteen marginalia that illustrate proverbs in the Glazier Peacock derive from the texts. These visual examples relate directly to well-known proverbial expressions and sometimes, more generally, to humorous expressions.⁸³

The visual proverbs in the Glazier Peacock are numerous and varied, giving no single message. There are, however, many that poke fun at the foolish. In one instance, on fol. 48v, a seated ass plays a gittern (fig. 60).⁸⁴ In another, on fol. 8, a man – reminiscent of a shepherd with an injured or young lamb (ultimately, perhaps, Christ the Good Shepherd) – carries an ass on his shoulders (fig. 61). This latter image appears to have ‘generated’ variants as on fol. 41r where a donkey-like animal falls on a nude man, and on fol. 87v where one man carries another on his shoulders. The image on fol. 28v of an oven with a man’s face peering out from its interior apparently refers to proverbs which concern the vice of gossip (fig. 62).⁸⁵ An image of one fish eating another, as on fol. 131, plays on the astrological symbol for Pisces and illustrates the proverb “Big fish eat small fish” (fig. 63).⁸⁶

A more serious message, in light of the Glazier Peacock’s imagery, is a caveat for would-be sinners: on fol. 118, an ape and a demon share a meal, likely referring to the proverb, “He who sups with the devil needs a long spoon” (fig. 64).⁸⁷ On fol. 134 a drunken man reclines on the ground, his head on a footstool. He is ‘Sleeping It Off’ (fig. 65).⁸⁸ Some images are difficult to pinpoint; for example, on fol. 38v a cock pulls down a castle with a cord. Could this be ‘Grand cri abat chastel’ (A loud cry can topple a castle), (fig. 66)?⁸⁹

⁸³ For a list of proverbs in the Glazier Peacock and related proverbs, see Appendices 2 and 4 as well as the Index of Marginalia.

⁸⁴ On this iconography, see Helen Adolf, “The Ass and the Harp,” *Speculum* 25 (1950), pp. 49–57.

⁸⁵ The phrase, ‘*C’est au four et au moulin où l’on sçait des nouvelles*’, referred to gossips. Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs*, N37. Emile Picot, ed., *Recueil général des sotties* (New York, 1968) I, 67, ll. 25–26. Gaignebet, *Art profane*, p. 47, for example, gives the following Flemish proverb: *Vouloir ouvrir la gueule plus grande qu’un four* (To open one’s trap wider than an oven), in the sense of a rumor monger.

⁸⁶ Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs*, p. 229: *Les gros poissons mangent les petits*; in G.C. Macaulay, ed., *The Complete Works of John Gower* (Grosse Pointe, MI, 1968), I, 73, ll. 6253–6255.

⁸⁷ See the fifteenth-century example in Dorothy Kraus and Henry Kraus, *The Hidden World of Misericords* (London, 1976), fig. 155.

⁸⁸ See the fifteenth-century example in George L. Remnant, *A Catalogue of Misericords in Great Britain* (Oxford, 1969), p. 49, no. 13.

⁸⁹ Hassell, *Middle French Proverbs*, C344: *Grand cri abat chastel*. Also see, Grace Frank and Dorothy Miner, eds., *Proverbes en rimes: Text and Illustrations of the 15th Century* (Baltimore, 1937), p. 58, line 672, and p. 90. On cockfights and cock symbolism, see Claude Gaignebet, “Sur le Jeudi-Jeudiot,” *Bulletin folklorique d’Île-de-France* 2–3 (1968), pp. 35–44; 5 (1969), pp. 105–8.



Fig. 60. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 48v, det., Donkey playing a gittern (photo with permission: PML).

Fig. 61. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 8, det., Man carrying a donkey on his back (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 62. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 28v, det., Man in oven and man's head in a hybrid snake (photo with permission: PML).

Fig. 63. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 63, det., 'Big fish eats little fish' (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 64. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 118, det., 'He Who Sups with the Devil Needs a Long Spoon' (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 65. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 134, det., 'Sleeping it Off' (photo with permission: PML).

Other images span genres, meshing proverbs and fabliaux,⁹⁰ the latter a genre which flowered from the beginning of the thirteenth on into the first third of the fourteenth century.⁹¹ Importantly, given Glazier's stylistic affiliations, forty-three manuscripts with fabliaux from this period, (based on a philological assessment), come from north and north-east France; most of these were written in the region situated between the Loire and Escaut. The textual references to people in fabliaux are prominently mentioned: they come from the cities and provinces Abbeville, Amiens, Arras, Cambrai, Compiègne, Douai, Hainaut, Normandy, and Picardie.



Fig. 66. PML, MS G24, *Voex du paon*, fol. 38v, det., 'Grand cri abat chastel' (?), (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 67. PML, MS G24, *Voex du paon*, fol. 6v, det., 'The Fight for the Britches' (photo and permission: PML).

⁹⁰ Luciano Rossi, ed. and trans., *Fabliaux érotiques: textes de jongleurs des XIIe et XIIIe siècles* (Paris, 1992), pp. 532–33.

⁹¹ On this genre, see: Rossi, *Fabliaux érotiques*; Willem Noomen and N. van den Boogard, *Nouveau recueil complet des fabliaux* (Assen, 1984). For textual criticism, see: Per Nykrog, *Les Fabliaux. Étude d'histoire littéraire et de stylistique médiévale*, (Geneva, 1973, new edition); Howard Bloch, *The Scandal of the Fabliaux* (Chicago, 1986); Marie-Thérèse Lorcin, *Façons de sentir et de penser: les fabliaux français* (Paris, 1979).

The image of two women fighting on fol. 6v refers to the proverb 'Whoever wins the britches gets the man' (fig. 67).⁹² But here, it is an all-female variant.⁹³ The storyline is preserved in two thirteenth-century fabliaux by Hugues Piauceles, the *Fabliau d'Estourmi* and the *Fabliau de Sire Hains et de Dame Aniense*.⁹⁴ Central to both is a public competition between husband and wife for the man's undergarments or britches. This will determine mastery of the household. These images are at once a parody of the battle scenes in the text and a reference to the damsels awaiting the end of the battle to get married; in addition, they connect to the arse-centric images, which I will examine below.

There are two other fabliaux-related scenes in the Glazier Peacock. These are a reproach to the gullible. In the first, which occurs in two variations (fols. 25v, 32v), the crafty Reynard poses as a sham religious figure. On fol. 32v, Reynard is dressed as a bishop and, though he stands alone, gestures as if he were preaching, his crozier in hand (fig. 68). This may correspond to a proverb: *Quand le renard se met à prêcher, prends garde à tes poules* (When the fox starts preaching, watch your chickens).⁹⁵ The second motif, which also occurs twice (fols. 78v, 87v), is the second half of a segment from an Aesopian fabliau where Reynard the fox invites a stork to dinner. The wily fox serves broth on a flat surface, thus making it unavailable to the stork with his long bill. The stork gets revenge, however, when he invites the fox to dinner and serves him a beverage in a tall, cylindrical container.⁹⁶ Here in the Glazier Peacock, the stork is feeding from that container.

⁹² A sixteenth-century misericord in Hoogstraten depicts two women fighting while an onlooking man holds out his breeches. See Kraus, *The Hidden World of Misericords*, fig. 159.

⁹³ P. Bureau, "La 'Dispute pour la culotte,'" pp. 105–12; pp. 122–123, fig. 4, mistakenly identifies this couple in the Glazier Peacock as a woman and a man, when the costume and hairstyle clearly show otherwise. For broader references related to the britches, also see C. Pinet, "From Fabliau to Farce: A Case Study," in *Essays in Early French Literature Presented to Barbara M. Craig*, eds. N.C. Lacy and J.C. Nash (York, SC, 1982), pp. 93–108, who discusses two thirteenth-century fabliaux: *Les braies au cordelier*, anonymous, and Jean de Condés' *Les braies le prestre*. They recount the story of a lover's britches left by accident at his mistress' home only to be donned by the husband on the following day and explained away as a means for ensuring fertility obtained from the local convent. On the word 'braies', see E. Jane Burns, "Ladies Don't Wear Braies: Underwear and Outerwear in the French Prose Lancelot," in *The Lancelot-Grail Cycle*, ed. W.W. Kibler (Austin, 1995), pp. 152–174. I thank Nancy Regaldo for this last article.

⁹⁴ The *Fabliau de Sire Hains et de Dame Aniense* is cited in full in Gaignebet, *Art profane*, p. 49.

⁹⁵ It may also be a satirical critique of churchmen, as noted by Nancy Regalado, private communication.

⁹⁶ Gaignebet, *Art profane*, p. 41, cites Plutarch who uses this fable to argue that when philosophers speak of erudite subjects at a drinking banquet those whose thoughts are more earth-bound resort to singing and frivolous story-telling to amuse themselves.

ORAL / ANAL: LAUGHTER AND THE DEVIL

*Cover Your Ass before You Fart!*⁹⁷

Eighty-eight hybrids in the Glazier Peacock can be deemed 'orally aggressive'. These creatures swallow, bite, and devour. Some simply have mouths open wide. In sum, they comprise a meaningful subgroup in the Glazier Peacock: they operate as a mockery of the feasting table in the two poems, and as harbingers of evil and punishment. In the Glazier Peacock the latter interpretation is borne out by the presence of marginal images which specifically refer to food, cooking, and eating in a decidedly evil manner.

There are twenty-three 'scoopmouths' in the Glazier Peacock, a fantastic species of hybrid with an extended lower jaw. For example, a scoopmouth in the bas-de-page on fol. 34v is poised to eat a human gryllus behind whose arse another gryllus places a hanap (fig. 69). This deformation gives the effect that this creature is in constant search of nourishment. Some scoop-mouths have a flickering serpent's tongue. They visualize a conceit which plays on the idea of the hellmouth and refers to the deadly sin of gluttony.⁹⁸ Despite the comic effect they create as marginal bullies on a par with the apes, they contribute to an underlying message of potential danger. For example, on fol. 83, a hybrid is about to devour a human-headed hybrid. The most bizarre recurring type of hybrid is one being swallowed by a disembodied head, as on fol. 26v (fig. 70). The artist's vision of the mouth here as an all-purpose receptacle leads to this species' intersection with the obscene marginalia. In this fashion, an open-mouthed, horned hybrid is the recipient of an ape's excreta on fol. 23v (see fig. 52).

Demons, apes, and hybrids lurking in the margins wielding fleshhooks put a spin on oral and food-related imagery with their direct references to hell. The fleshhook, used by the medieval cook for moving around large chunks of meat boiling in a cauldron, appears in the context of

⁹⁷ It is too late to cover your ass when you've farted, Mor. 2309: *Tart main a cul quant pez est hors*.

⁹⁸ Hellish humor is epitomized in the c.1234–1240 *Tournoiement Antéchrist* of Huon de Méry whose allegorical character in the Antichrist's army, Gluttony, carries a shield *de gueules*, playing on the heraldic term for red and the slang for 'mouth'. See Max Prinnet, "Le langage héraldique dans le Tournoiement Antechrist," *Bibliothèque de l'École des Chartes* 83 (1922), pp. 43–53, and Ann T. Tardy, "Entre le sérieux et le comique, une oeuvre énigmatique: *Li tornoiemenz Antecrist* de Huon de Méry," *Perspectives médiévales* 12 (1986), pp. 61–63.



Fig. 68. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fols. 32v, det., The fox (?) as bishop (photo with permission: PML).

Figs. 70. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 26v, det., Self-consuming hybrid (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 69. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 34v, det., Two hybrids about to eat or collect feces from a hybrid with an exposed arse (photo with permission: PML).

contemporary art as the device used by the devil to drag the souls of the damned to hell.⁹⁹ This illustrates the manner in which sin diminishes the sanctity of the human body to carrion, a lump of meat for the hellish banquet.¹⁰⁰ On fol. 16v, a hybrid carries a fleshhook in its mouth (fig. 71). On fols. 36v, 48, and 71, a hybrid, an ape and a demon wield fleshhooks respectively. The image of the hellmouth is closely related to this category. An instance where one of the hybrids belches flames on fol. 58 makes this connection clear (fig. 72). These associations define hybrids of this type as predators, both of the body and the soul.

Within the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock, the arse is, for the most part, a catalyst for humor.¹⁰¹ In relation to the topos of the feasting table and in the context of carnivalesque images, this arse-generated laughter is an expected reaction. There is a plethora of proverbial phrases which accent the period reception on this theme; for example:¹⁰²

Plug your arse and of course you can't shit (*A resoun pert le chier qe soun cul estoie*)

It only takes a little shit to soil big britches (*Petite merde conchie grans braies*)
Sing to the donkey and he'll fart for you (*Chantez à l'àne, il vous fera des petz*)

You're not well hidden if your arse is showing (*Il est mal caché à qui le cul paroist*)

It's as true as the fact that an arse can sing (*Il est vrai tout ainsi comme le cul chante*)

Analyzed as a whole, there are forty-three, the highest occurrence of this type of imagery in any extant manuscript I know. This group also

⁹⁹ For images of extant fleshhooks, see Peter W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), p. 121.

¹⁰⁰ V.A. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative: The First Five Canterbury Tales* (London, 1984), pp. 258, 260–261, discusses the symbolism of the cook and his fleshhook in the context of Chaucer and Dante. For an image of a fleshhook in this context, see IMGM, fig. 269, where a devil uses a fleshhook to torture souls in a hellmouth.

¹⁰¹ The various branches of the *Roman de Renart*, in particular, provide examples of this type of humor; Armand Strubel, ed. and trans., *Le Roman de Renart* (Paris, 1998), pp. lxxvii–lxxviii. The *Renart* tales were meant to amuse while transgressing courtly love poems such as the *Voeux*. For example, Branch III, line 225 tells of a chaplet of seven farts. In Branch XII, line 1706, the author writes of Timer the ass' stinking, ignoble hole. In evaluating this type of humor, Strubel, p. lxxvii, states that “la scatologie peut se suffire à elle-même.” On jokes about the substitution of a woman for a man and the subsequent shock at the size of the anus, see *Le Monstrance du cul* and the ‘*baiser honteux*’ in *Berenger au long cul*. See the commentary on the *Monstrance du cul* in Strubel, *Le Roman de Renart*, ll. 1331–1334. Also, see Valerie Allen, *On Farting: Language and Laughter in the Middle Ages* (New York, 2007).

¹⁰² For a complete list of arse-generated humor found in proverbial phrases see Appendix 2.



Fig. 71. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 16v, det., Human hybrid holding a flesh-hook (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 73. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 3v, det., Nude man urinating and defecating simultaneously into two ewers (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 72. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 58, det., Fire-breathing hybrid assaults a human hybrid (photo with permission: PML).

contributes to a sense of evil or wrongdoing.¹⁰³ To familiarize the reader with the extensive corpus of scatological imagery and to provide a framework for analysis, I divide them, with the necessary overlaps, into two categories: 1) the 'normal' body and natural bodily functions, and, conversely, 2) the 'abnormal' (deformed or monstrous) body and the 'misuse' of bodily functions.

The first group includes nudity, urination, and defecation.¹⁰⁴ The humor here derives from a transferring of private actions to the public realm, thus transgressing certain societal norms. Of the nine instances of nudity, we find a bishop on fol. 92v, as well as a nude man serving as a horse for an ape on fol. 98v (see fig. 51). Defecation and urination – there are six examples – necessary physical functions, render the acting character crude. On fol. 3v, a hooded but otherwise nude man urinates and defecates simultaneously into two hanaps; in keeping with the bold physicality of the marginalia, the underdrawing of his penis is still visible (fig. 73).¹⁰⁵

The second group is composed of arse-baring, arse-kissing, playing instruments via the anus, and excreta-eating (coprophagy). Frequent use of scatological imagery in contemporary literature and in art reveals that arse-baring signifies, in V.A. Kolve's words, "an outrageous comic insult."¹⁰⁶ On fol. 25v of the Glazier Peacock, a nude, bearded man points to his arse

¹⁰³ See Michael Camille, *Master of Death: The Lifeless Art of Pierre Remiet* (New Haven, 1996), p. 269, n. 53, for a discussion of anal-erotic line-enders. Mikhail Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, trans. Helene Iwolsky (Bloomington, IN, 1984), p. 304, points out the importance of the inversion of the upper and lower bodily strata and the prominent position of the latter in the medieval grotesque. "Its origins," p. 395, he argues, "lie in a folk culture which strove to defeat death through laughter by using degradation and 'uncrownings' as the essential elements."

¹⁰⁴ See P.F. Gel, "Texts and Textures: Dirty Pictures and Other Things in Medieval Manuscripts," *Corona*, III (1983), pp. 68–77 (cited by Hamburger in "Review of Michael Camille," n. 19).

¹⁰⁵ For a bas-de-page scene with defecation see IMGM, fig. 530, where a man defecates eggs into a basket which are in turn brought by another man to a woman who holds a basket of eggs. Also see Randall, "A Medieval Slander," p. 27.

¹⁰⁶ See fols. 25v, 30v, 37, 94v, 113v, and 118v. Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, p. 190, describes the scene in Chaucer's *Miller's Tale* where an arse is bared through a window to be kissed by an unwanted admirer; on the same page Kolve cites Trevet's *Chroniques*, "women and naked children, in mockery, showed him their hindquarters." For discussions of the 'misdirected kiss', see: Larry D. Benson, ed., *The Literary Context of Chaucer's Fabliaux: Texts and Translations* (Indianapolis, 1971), pp. 3–77; William F. Bryan and Germaine Dempster, eds., *Sources and Analogues of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales* (Chicago, 1941), pp. 106–123; and Haldeen Braddy, *Geoffrey Chaucer, Literary and Historical Studies* (Port Washington, 1971). Ruth Mellinkoff, *Outcasts: Signs of Otherness in Northern European Art of the Late Middle Ages* (Berkeley, 1993), p. 205, n. 51, discusses a fifteenth-century sculpture of a man defecating money, arguing that it served an apotropaic function. See Jean

which he extends toward a miniature where Cassamus disrupts the chess game between Cassiel the Baudrain and the damsel Fésonas (fig. 74). The eroticism in the miniature is underscored, at right, by the gesture of the man grasping a woman's breasts from behind. The rubric in the bas-de-page reads, "Comment Fésonas jue avec Baudrain et Cassamus le iete d'un coussin" (How Fésonas plays [chess] with the Baudrain and Cassamus throws a cushion at them). The text above the miniature relates the event:

"Dame, dist Edeüs, tous jours volés tenchier. / Quant je vorrai amer ne quier tel messagier." / Cassiel l'entendi qui seoit au tablier, / Edeüs regarda qu'il ne s'en pot targier, / Et quant celle le voit coulor prist a cangier / Si devint plus vermeille que rose de rosier. / Cassame en sorrst si prist .i. oreiller, / Par delés les jüeurs s'est alés apoiier. / "Par Dieu, fait li viellars, chi a boin tainturier / Que si fine coulor set tost appareillier. / Traiies, sire Baudrains, cestes sevent lanchier / Et ferir jusqu'au cuer sans le cors damagier. / Traiies, car bien pöes avoir le trait premier." (Voeux, ll. 2806–2818)

"Lady," says Edeus, "you always want to argue. When I want to love I don't seek out a messenger." Cassiel, who was seated at the chessboard, heard this. Edeus couldn't delay from looking, and when she heard this she blushed redder than a rose from a rosebush. Cassamus, laughing, took a pillow to throw at the two chess players. "By God," says the old man, "it was a good dyer who could make such a color appear. Shoot, Sire Baudrain, you'll know how to check these and hit their heart without injuring their bodies. Shoot, for you can have the first shot."

The nude man literally pokes fun at the forced and sudden ending of the sexually charged courting metaphor of the chess match, his finger about to enter his anus.¹⁰⁷ In effect, he creates the parallel for Cassamus' action,

Gessler, "A propos d'un acteur dans le *Jeu de sainte Apolline*," in *Miscellanea Leo van Puyvelde* (Brussels, 1949), pp. 269–276; Gessler's important article, p. 271, defines the arse-baring action of a fool aimed at the martyred saint in Fouquet's miniature of c. 1460 as "une peine morale, insultante et déshonorante." Carol R. Dover, "Imagines Historiarum: Text and Image in the French Prose *Lancelot*," in Busby, *Word and Image*, pp. 79–104, and pp. 90–92, discusses a bas-de-page image of a man aiming an arrow at an ape who bares his arse, arguing for humorous word-play on the textual "l'écu fendu" and its homophone, 'les culs fendus', (the cracked arses). Rossi, *Fabliaux érotiques*, pp. 543–4, provides a list of terms for genitalia and intercourse found in fabliaux encompassing war, law, agricultural and music. The last, importantly for the imagery in the Glazier Peacock, includes terms such as 'tabourer au tabour', 'culoner', and 'culer'. In "De la damoiselle qui ne pooit oïr parler de foute," ll. 134–152, the anus is described as a vigilant horn. See Charles Muscatine, *The Old French Fabliaux* (New Haven, 1986), p. 105.

¹⁰⁷ On chess, see Harold J. Murray, *History of Chess* (London, 1913). I thank Nancy Regalado for this reference. As a metaphor for love, see Merritt R. Blakeslee, "Lo dous joxs sotils: La partie d'échecs amoureuse dans la poésie des troubadours," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale*, 28 (1985), pp. 213–22; Jean Michel Mehl, *Les jeux au royaume de France du 13^e au début du 16^e siècle* (Paris, 1990), esp. pp. 115–134.



Fig. 74. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 25v, Cassamus disrupts the chess game of Fésonas and the Baudrain, and in the flanking margin a nude man inserts his finger in his anus (photo with permission: PML).

reinforced by his physiognomic similarities to the long-bearded figure in the miniature.

A second example occurs on fol. 30v, where an ape carrying a lantern in the bas-de-page points to his arse (fig. 75). Perhaps he is mocking Floridas, one of Alexander's knights, who is overthrown by Porrus, the enemy, in the miniature above. On fol. 37, where a nude, armless man with long ears bares his arse to an ape who points at his own nose, it becomes clear that some images of this type simply refer to malodorous flatulence or a beast's lack of anal hygiene.

Throughout the Glazier Peacock, apes bare their arses. Bestiary descriptions of monkeys (*simia*) fixate on this part of the ape's anatomy:

A monkey has no tail (*cauda*). The Devil resembles these beasts; for he has a head, but no scripture (*caudex*). Admitting that the whole of a monkey is disgraceful, yet their bottoms really are excessively disgraceful and horrible. In the same way, the Devil had a sound foundation when he was among the angels of heaven, but he was hypocritical and cunning inside himself, and so he lost his *cauda-caudex* as a sign that all of him would perish in the end.¹⁰⁸

The categories of defecation and urination, coprophagy (the consumption of feces) and arse-kissing, for the most part in the Glazier Peacock, constitute examples of fascination with human functions in utter contrast to the refined world presented in courtly images. Defecation and urination, like arse-baring, were also a form of slander. Reynard the fox¹⁰⁹ urinated on the children of his adversary Isengrin the wolf, and another time "...acted like the foul beast he was: when he was right over the [peasant's]

¹⁰⁸ White, *The Bestiary*, pp. 34–5; also, see Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, pp. 8–12.

¹⁰⁹ The *Roman de Renart*, a collection of narratives by multiple authors, written between approximately 1170 and 1250, was presented in a new light in the second half of the thirteenth and early fourteenth centuries: the onetime joyous and spiritual hero becomes the incarnation of evil and diabolic perfidy. For an English translation, see Owen, *The Romance of Reynard*. For a translation and edition of the entire *Renart* opus with commentary see, *Le Roman de Renart*, dir. Armand Strubel (Paris, 1998). For two studies on *Le Roman de Renart* pertinent to the Glazier Peacock, see: Pierre-Yves Badel, "Deux exempla dans *Renart le Nouvel*: le nourrisson de la truie (ll. 5131–5172) et le singe corrigé (ll. 5437–5531)," in *Alain de Lille, Gautier de Châtillon, Jakemart Gielée et leur temps*, eds. H. Roussel and F. Suard (Lille, 1980), pp. 259–276; and D.J.A. Ross, "The Iconography of Alexander in *Renart le Contrefait*," *Scriptorium* 21 (1967), pp. 74–83. For broad studies on this body of work see: H. Roussel, *Renart le Nouvel et Jacquemart Gielée. Étude littéraire* (Lille, 1984); Robert Bossuat, *Le Roman de Renard*, new ed. (Paris, 1967); Kenneth Varty, *Reynard the Fox: A Study of the Fox in Medieval English Art* (Leicester, 1967); Claude Reichler, *La diabolie: la seduction, la renardie, l'écriture* (Paris, 1979); Jean Scheidegger, *Le Roman de Renart ou le texte de la dérision* (Geneva, 1989); and Danielle Buschinger and André Crépin, eds., *Comique, satire et parodie dans la tradition renardienne et les fabliaux, actes du colloque* (Göppingen, 1983).



Fig. 75. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 30v, A monkey in the bas-de-page inserts a finger in his anus as Porrus and Floridas fight in the miniature above (photo with permission: PML).

head, he raised his tail and released on him a great stream of excrement..."¹¹⁰ A fifteenth-century misericord, at St. Seurin in Bordeaux, perpetuates the tradition by showing a human laying eggs. This illustrates the Flemish proverb 'He Shits Eggs without Shells'.¹¹¹ In the Glazier Peacock, on fol. 82v, an ape prepares to sit on a basket of eggs. Or has he laid them.¹¹²

Could some of the scatological images reflect the circumstances of defecation and urination in the mid fourteenth century? Certainly, they were not the same for all social classes. Bodily functions were, perhaps, more public at the time, and associated with the stench of the peasant and farm animals. In the Glazier Peacock, as we have seen, there is a purposeful depiction of the lower classes as inelegant and vulgar.¹¹³ Studies of the city of London at this time do, however, reveal that city-culture circumstances were to some extent 'hygienic' and 'modern' (in the sense of 'private').¹¹⁴ There were public latrines.¹¹⁵ In addition, Barbara Hanawalt documents the presence of latrines and privies in cellars, yards and solars – upper-storey rooms accessed by stairs or ladders from the street.¹¹⁶ Mishaps did occur, and Ernest Sabine recounts humorous (and potentially dangerous) situations where people fell into privies.¹¹⁷

Sacrilegious rites and practices involving feces and urine were associated with satanic worship and heresy.¹¹⁸ Medieval Christians believed in a demonic realm which operated in a total reversal of the sacred.¹¹⁹ In this line of thinking, it was believed that witches and demons used excreta for the sacrament of communion during their secret meetings. Defecation, in

¹¹⁰ Owen, *The Romance of Reynard*, p. 238, ll. 956–983.

¹¹¹ Kraus, *The Hidden World of Misericords*, fig. 40.

¹¹² See Randall, "A Medieval Slander"; IMGM, fig. 373, where a nude man carries a horse in water; for images of eggs, see figs. 530, 581–584.

¹¹³ Alexander, "*Labeur et Paresse*."

¹¹⁴ See Barbara A. Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London: The Experience of Childhood in History* (Oxford, 1993), pp. 28–30.

¹¹⁵ Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, p. 29, cites Ernest L. Sabine, "Latrines and Cesspools of Medieval London," *Speculum* 9 (1934), pp. 303–321.

¹¹⁶ Hanawalt, *Growing up in Medieval London*, pp. 28–30.

¹¹⁷ Sabine, "Latrines and Cesspools," p. 310.

¹¹⁸ Gaignebet, *Art profane*, pp. 208–9, argues that many of the obscene and scatological images in medieval art are visual artifacts of popular culture, which for the most part were not found appropriate to be committed to writing; and, pp. 16–18, more specifically, that these particular images correspond to rites of initiation, which were meant to be secret and were probably not understood even by those who practiced them.

¹¹⁹ Karl. P. Wentersdorf, "The Symbolic Significance of *Figurae Scatologicae* in Gothic Manuscripts," in *Word, Picture, and Spectacle*, ed. Clifford Davidson (Kalamazoo, MI, 1984), pp. 1–19, p. 4.

this context, is equated with desecration and sacrilege.¹²⁰ In the Glazier Peacock, this connection is supported by the demonic, horned hybrid as well as the ape, an animal related to the Devil in the Middle Ages, in the scene which depicts coprophagy on fol. 23v.¹²¹ Disembodied arses comprise another subgroup, and they appear in six instances.¹²² On fol. 44v is a gryllus, composed of the lower half of a nude running figure with a blue fanged mask, that holds the arse in its mouth (fig. 76); and, on fol. 81v, is a gryllus, composed of a hooded arse with leonine legs. On fol. 54, a kneeling ape worships a disembodied arse in britches (fig. 77).

The *Mesnager de Paris*, of c. 1393, is a book on manners and comportment destined for a newly-wed wife. It clearly spells out that, as today, most words describing these actions constituted unacceptable language:



Fig. 76. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 44v, det., A blue gryllus with an arse in its mouth (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 77. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 64, det., An ape kneels in prayer to a disembodied arse in britches (photo with permission: PML).

¹²⁰ See Lester K. Little, "Pride Goes Before Avarice: Social Change and the Vices in Latin Christendom," *The American Historical Review*, 76, no. 1 (Feb., 1971), pp. 16–49; on pp. 37–38, he connects scatological images, including marginalia defecating money, (figs. 10, 11), to the sin of avarice.

¹²¹ For Bestiary accounts which compare apes to the Devil see: White, *The Bestiary*, pp. 34–35; Rowland, *Animals with Human Faces*, pp. 8–12; and Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore*.

¹²² See fols. 17, 29v, 44v, 45v, 54, and 81v.

Et certes, femmes ne doivent parler de nulle laidure, non mye seulement de con, de cul ne de autres secretz membres de nature, car c'est deshonneste chose a femme d'en parler. Je oy une foiz raconter d'une jeune preudefemme qui estoit assise en une presse de ses autres amis et amyes. Et par adventure elle dist par esbatement aux autres: "Vous me pressés si fort que bien la moictié de mon con me ride." Et jasait ce qu'elle l'eust dit par jeu et entre ses amis, cuidant faire la galoise, toutesvoyes les autres sages preudefemmes ses parentes l'en blasmerent a part. Item, telles femmes gouilardeuses dient aucunes foiz de femme qu'elle est putain ribaulde, et par ce disant il semble qu'elles sachent qu'est putain ou ribaulde, et preudefemmes ne scevent que ce est de ce; et pour ce defendez leur tel langage, car elles ne scevent que c'est. (Le Mesnagier de Paris, II, iii, § 6, ll. 162-176)

A lady should certainly never talk dirty, using words like 'cunt' and 'ass' or others that refer to private parts of nature; this is unbecoming in a woman. I once heard tell of a young lady, who, jammed on a seat between male and female friends, told this joke for laughs, "You're squeezing me so tightly that you're putting another crack [crease] in my cunt." Though she spoke in fun and among her friends, just to be silly, her wise female relatives took her aside and reproached her. Item, some foolish women call other women whores or sluts, thus leading others to believe that they know of these things. A lady knows nothing of this. For this reason, forbid your women servants to use such language: they don't realize the repercussions.¹²³

The category of playing instruments via the anus (fols. 1, 18v, 65, 82, and 136v) is a variation on the theme of anal intrusion which appears as a stylistic convention in Flemish and the Northern French marginalia.¹²⁴ On fol. 1, for example, a nude man plays a buisine (straight trumpet) via his anus (fig. 78). A second example, on fol. 18v, depicts a nude, crowned man playing bagpipes in this manner (fig. 79). Anal intrusion and penetration

¹²³ My translation from the French in Georgina E. Brereton and Janet M. Ferrier, eds. and Karin Ueltschi, trans., *Le Mesnagier de Paris* (Paris, 1994) II, iii, §6, ll. 162-176. Also see the ribald joke from Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, ed. and trans. Shira I. Schwam-Baird (New York, 1994), of c. 1282-c. 1288, p. 90, n. 47, where the shepherd Gautier points to the genitalia of a wounded sheep, punning on the word 'perse' which can mean 'blue' or 'pierced', eliciting the shepherdess Marion's response, "Gautier, how vulgar you are!" (ll. 595-596). Also, see: Kevin Brownlee, "Transformations of the Couple: Genre and Language in Adam de la Halle's *Jeu de Robin et Marion*," *French Forum* 14 (1989), pp. 419-433; Kenneth Varty, "Le mariage, la courtoisie et l'ironie comique dans *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*," in *Mélanges de langue et littérature françaises du Moyen Âge et de la Renaissance offerts à Charles Foulon*, vol. 2, *Marche Romane* 30 (1980), pp. 287-292, p. 291. Marion herself, however, has just used the expression, "cul devers le teste" literally 'ass over head', translated here as "topsy-turvy" (l. 591), to describe the way the lamb is being held.

¹²⁴ See Appendix 5, under the description of anal intrusion, and the Index of Marginalia.

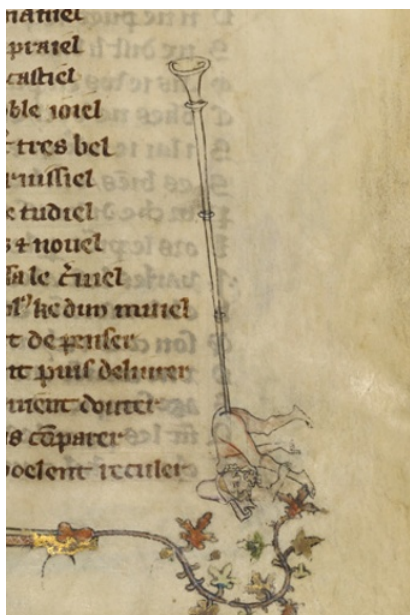


Fig. 78. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, det., A nude man plays a buisine via his arse (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 79. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 18v, det., A hybrid king plays the bagpipes via his exposed arse (photo with permission: PML).

are animal-related manifestations of curiosity and, for a human, could symbolize a loss of reason.¹²⁵ Together with arse-baring it did, however, have an orthodox function as part of medical exams. In the Bodleian Alexander, for example, a man exposes his anus to a seated doctor in the bas-de-page on fol. 79 (fig. 80).¹²⁶

Instruments played in this manner are the buisine (a long trumpet) and the bagpipes.¹²⁷ The associations of the buisine with royal pomp and

¹²⁵ See, for example, BL Royal 17 E.VIII, fol. 1, where an ape probes another ape's anus.

¹²⁶ See Peter Murray Jones, *Medieval Medicine in Illuminated Manuscripts* (London, 1998). On this manuscript, see M.R. James, *The Romance of Alexander: A Collotype Facsimile of MS Bodleian Alexander 264* (Oxford, 1933); Cruse, "The Roman d'Alexandre"; and, on the marginalia in this manuscript in general, Susan K. Davenport, "Illustrations Direct and Oblique in the Margins of a Roman d'Alexandre at Oxford," *Journal of the Warburg and Courtauld Institutes* 34 (1971), pp. 83–95.

¹²⁷ For names of medieval instruments I follow, Terence Ford and A. Green, *Inventory of Musical Iconography 3: The Pierpont Library, New York, Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts* (New York, 1988), p. 7. On the iconography of the bagpipes and trumpets,



Fig. 80. Bodley 264, *Roman d'Alexandre*, fol. 79, det., A seated doctor with one patient who holds a sample of urine in a bottle and another who exposes his arse to show his hemorrhoids (?) (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

parades as well as with waits who sounded hours,¹²⁸ and the proximity of the shape of the bagpipes to the male genitalia seem to be additional means of conveying parody or humor in this musical flatulence.¹²⁹ Jokes describing the use of the anus as an instrument are common.¹³⁰ Take, for example, reference to the arse as a 'corneeur' (trumpeter) in the *Roman de Renard*.¹³¹

Although these images seem to be more amusing than evil, Reinhold Hammerstein has remarked on the 'hellish' nature of 'noise' versus

see: Emanuel Winternitz, *Musical Instruments and their Symbolism in Western Art: Studies in Musical Iconology*, second ed. (New Haven, 1979); Edward A. Block, "Chaucer's Millers and Their Bagpipes," *Speculum* 29 no. 2 pt. 1 (April, 1954), pp. 239–243; and the important series of articles by Edmund A. Bowles: "Musical Instruments at the Medieval Banquet," *Revue Belge de Musicologie* 12 (1958), pp. 41–52; "Musical Instruments in Civic Processions during the Middle Ages," *Acta Musicologica* 33 (1961), pp. 147–161; "Tower Musicians in the Middle Ages," *Brass Quarterly* 5 (1962), pp. 91–103; "Musical Instruments in the Medieval Corpus Christi Procession," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 17, no. 3 (Fall, 1964), pp. 251–260; and "Eastern Influences on the Use of Trumpets and Drums during the Middle Ages," *Anuario Musical* 26 (1971), pp. 1–26.

¹²⁸ John Southworth, *The English Medieval Minstrel* (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 73–74.

¹²⁹ On the bagpipes, see Emanuel Winternitz, "Bagpipes for the Lord," *Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* 16/10 (June 1958), pp. 276–286.

¹³⁰ Allen, *On Farting*, pp. 27–34, discusses this subject matter.

¹³¹ Strubel, *Le Roman de Renart*, p. 1347, note to p. 771.

music.¹³² In addition to the examples cited directly above, ‘noise’ occurs frequently in the margins of the Glazier Peacock. On fol. 16, a mermaid generates unpleasant music by playing a jawbone with tongs (fig. 81).¹³³ Apes and donkeys singing from a scroll, on fol. 24, create surprisingly sophisticated dissonance: they are possibly mimicking the performance of a motet (fig. 82).¹³⁴

Mikhail Bakhtin, in his study of Rabelais, argues that the origins of the inversion of the upper and lower bodily strata, so common in the



Fig. 81. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 16, det., A mermaid plays a jawbone with tongs (photo with permission: PML).

Fig. 82. PML, *Voeux du paon*, MS G24, fol. 24, det., A group of apes and donkeys sing from a scroll with music (photo with permission: PML).

¹³² Reinhold Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica: Studien zur Ikonographie der Musik im Mittelalter* (Bern, 1974).

¹³³ See Hammerstein, *Diabolus in Musica* and *Die Musik der Engel* (Bern, 1968). These important interdisciplinary iconographic studies have been overlooked in past analyses of marginalia.

¹³⁴ I thank Lawrence Earp (personal communication) for his analysis of the musical notation on the scroll. “There seems to be a two-line staff and a C-clef at the beginning, followed by three groups of notes. The first segment, six or seven notes, appears to use mostly diamond-shaped note heads (semibreves), ending with some square note heads

medieval grotesque, lie in a folk culture which strove to defeat death through laughter by using degradation and uncrownings as the essential elements.¹³⁵ Bakhtin's interpretation provides invaluable insight into marginalia, but is based on significantly later material.¹³⁶ Though the audience for the Glazier Peacock's images is overwhelmingly cosmopolitan, it hovers between bourgeoisie and noblesse, religious and laity.

and downstems (longs). A second passage is in square notes, followed by a third passage in ligature. This implies that the second and third passages have slower durations, as is typical in the three voices of a motet; thus I assume three-part polyphony is intended here. But the vertical combination of these voices is too dissonant to make sense as music." Cacophony can be placed in the specific context of charivari. See, Nancy Freeman Regalado, "Masques réels dans le monde de l'imaginaire. Le rite et l'écrit dans le charivari du Roman de Fauvel, BnF fr. 146," in *Masques et déguisements dans la littérature médiévale*, ed. Marie-Louise Ollier (Montreal, 1988), pp. 113–126.

¹³⁵ Bakhtin, *Rabelais and His World*, pp. 304 and 395.

¹³⁶ Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, pp. 208–9 writes that: The differences between Bakhtin's interpretation...and mine are largely conditioned by the various layers of the material we use. Bakhtin takes primarily the culture of the 'waning of the Middle Ages', and his chief source for analysing medieval and Renaissance comic elements is Rabelais. But the carnival element...was localized in the late medieval city. I have used Latin literary works of the early and high Middle Ages which appeared for the most part in monasteries and episcopal residences and were addressed to the lower clergy and the laity, the majority of whom were peasants.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: FESTIVITIES

While a joyous, if not humorous, atmosphere reigns, and sexual flirtation has been emphasized, food and alcohol remain part of the boasting ritual in the 'Voeux'...[Nevertheless] the gravity of mortal combat remains an imminent threat...¹

The whole background of the 'Restor' is one of continuous feasting.²

The specific period phenomenon, which parallels, permits, and even encourages marginalia – accounting for the context, the unequivocal 'time' from which these images originate and to which they perpetually refer – is the festival.³ The following passage provides the narrative of the vowing:

Ensi fu li paons a sa mort conjoïs, / En la cuisine l'ont par i varlet tramis. / Vers la sale s'en vont li Gadrain et li Gris, / Grant honnor s'entrefont comme gent bien apris, / As tables vont seoir sor les riches tapis. / Les iii puceles ont les ii prisonniers [pris], / Cascune les regarde et fait i simple ris, / Entremellé se sont et au mangier assis. / De gius et de paroles, de solas et de ris / Faisoient entremés ensi com par avis (*Voeux*, laisse. 122, ll. 3958–3967).

And thus the peacock was killed and a page boy brought it to the kitchen. Gadrain and Gris made their way to the dining hall. They went to the table and sat on rich carpets. The three maidens have the two prisoners and each looks at them and quietly laughs. The group sat at the table to eat, all the while listening to and creating games and words, sad and happy.

Here the verses continue the narrative of this passage, punctuated by the words of Elios and the elderly Cassamus who takes the first vow:

Lors s'escrie Elios qui ert bele et jolie, / C'estoit une pucele de molt noble lignie / Qui servoit Gadifer et sa seur Fezonie: / "Aportés le paon as drois de Mazonie." / La pucele se lieve, uns jougleres le guie, / Devant li va juant a une

¹ Grigsby, *The Gab*, p. 202.

² Restor 2, p. 56.

³ On *sociétés joyeuses*, see Enid Welsford, *The Fool: His Social and Literary History* (London, 1935), p. 203. For a pertinent discussion of fools, see Dietmar Rieger, "Par devant lui chantent li jogleor." La poésie médiévale dans le contexte du 'Gesamtkunstwerk' du repas courtois," in *Chanter et dire. Études sur la littérature du Moyen Âge* (Paris, 1997), pp. 89–110.

ciphonie, / Par devant Cassamus s'estoit agenouillie. / Li viellars s'esjoist qui de cler cuer escrie: / "C'est li viande as preus, a ceuls qui ont amie. / Chi doit on bien voër et paier s'ahatie / Et d'armes et d'amors et de chevalerie, / Et je commencherai premiers a voërie." (*Voeux*, laisse 123, ll. 4006–4017)

Then the beautiful Elios, of noble lineage, who was serving Gadifer and her sister, Fésonas, calls out, "Bring the peacock for the Macedonians[?]." The maiden stands up and a minstrel plays for her on a ciphonie. Old Cassamus went down on one knee and said, "This is the meat of the peers, to those who have a beloved woman. Here we must make vows of war and love and chivalry. And I will begin with the first vow."

In relation to the marginalia, it is perhaps no coincidence that the pivotal moment in the *Voeux* is the vowing, dinner-party scene. It receives a miniature in nearly all illuminated Peacock manuscripts, oftentimes with images of dancing women, such as those in the early manuscript [P8/A] on fol. 128v (fig. 83). In the Glazier Peacock, this scene, on fol. 44, is the largest and most detailed of all its miniatures (fig. 21).

The Peacock poems are filled with festivities. These passages provide descriptions of an ideal party, where there is music-making (oftentimes with a rather impractical, full-blown instrumentarium), singing, and dancing.⁴ In the *Voeux*, for example, we read:

Tant ont sis au mangier qu'il prist a l'anuitier, / Sergant alument torsses, ce fu por escairier / Au laver des barons font les napes cueillir / Et cil jougleor font lor note retentir, / Dames et damoiseles veïssiés retreskier. (*Voeux*, laisse 283, ll. 8525–8529)

They sat so long at their meal that night fell. Torches were lit to brighten the area. After washing their hands, the barons had the tables cleared, and the jongleurs made their music ring out, and you would have seen ladies and maidens dance.

And in the *Restor* there is a fifteen-day feast in celebration of five marriages and of the newly restored golden peacock. At the beginning of this feast, minstrels play vielles, trumpets, portative organs and drums.⁵ All the celebrants step to and fro in a carol dance to the music of harps and citoles.⁶ The performative aspect is brought to the fore, and beautiful

⁴ On entertainment at feasts, see Peter W. Hammond, *Food and Feast in Medieval England* (Stroud, 1993), pp. 143–150; and Edmund A. Bowles, "Musical Instruments at the Medieval Banquet," *Revue belge de Musicologie / Belgisch Tijdschrift voor Muziekwetenschap*, vol. 12, No. 1/4 (1958), pp. 41–51.

⁵ The party is divided into two parts, the first of which is described here. The passages with festivities are: *Restor* 2, I, ll. 1159–1254 and ll. 1358–1356, pp. 92–98. The second part of the party is at the end of the *Restor*.

⁶ Robert Mullally, *The 'Carole': A Study of a Medieval Dance* (Ashgate, 2011).



Fig. 83. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cabinet des estampes MS SK-A-3042 [P8/A], *Voeux du paon*, fol. 102, det., Dancers perform before a dinner table where a man is washing his hands (photo with permission: Library, Rijksmuseum).

stories were recited aloud, sung and composed (“*biaus dis recorder, chanter et versiier*,” Restor I, l. 1379).

Mais la bele Édéa qui ot grant desirier / De son veu porsivir san villain reprovier / Par deseure le dois fist .i. piler fichier, / Et la fist le paon hautement atchier / Et a l'eslever fist la feste renforchier, / Tromper et orgener, taburer et buschier: / Il n'i ot juggleör ne fesist son mestier. / Cascuns des preus sa main .i. mist au sushaucier. / Feste .i. ot tres plenièr, grant deduit et plenier. / Riens n'i ot qui deüst par raison anoier / Fors ce que on vëoit le jor amenuisier. / Molt i ot grant deduit jusques a l'anuitier, / Et la nuit toute nuit jusques a l'esclavier (Restor II, ll. 1232–1244).⁷

⁷ Restor 2, p. 133.

Beautiful Édéa, who greatly wished to fulfill her vow without any kind of low reproach, had a high pillar upon the dais on which she had the golden peacock placed. When she did so the festivities increased: trumpeting, organ playing, drumming and buisine blowing. There wasn't a jongleur there who was not performing. Each of the brave knights raised his hand to join the dance. The party was crowded and delightful. There was nothing that could offend anyone except that the daylight was fading. There were pleasurable activities until nightfall and daybreak.

These lines inspired images of Édéa's display of her gold peacock and the ubiquitous carol dances (fig. 84).

Festival antics appear throughout the Glazier Peacock's marginalia. For example, on fol. 18v a hybrid balances a sword on his nose, perhaps generated from or in mockery of the miniature on folio, 19v, where Alexander presides over a ceremony where Emenidus and his soldiers raise their swords point down to offer amends to Gadifer (figs. 13, 86, 87).⁸ On fol. 17, a contortionist serves as a 'human altar' to a donkey playing the role of a priest (fig. 88).⁹



Fig. 84. BL, MS Add. 16888, *Restor du paon*, fol. 142, det., The golden peacock (photo with permission © The British Library Board).

⁸ For images of sword-balancing, see IMGM, figs. 419 and 420.

⁹ For the contortionist, see IMGM, fig. 433.



Fig. 85. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Restor du paon*, fol. 181v, det., Carol dance (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).



Fig. 86. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 18v, det., Human hybrid balancing a sword on its nose (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 87. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 19v, det., Emenidus offers amends to Gadifer before Alexander (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 88. Bodleian Library, Bodley 264, *Restor du paon*, fol. 182, det., The golden peacock (photo with permission: Bodleian Library).

THE PUYs: SOTTES CHANSONS, FATRASIES, AND FATRAS

Oral delivery in general and the puy provide an appropriate background for the generation and appreciation of divergent elements. They include secular, courtly poetry as well as coarse parody. These poems were composed and read aloud at the puy, literary societies which held

competitions in North-Eastern France from the twelfth to fifteenth centuries, during public holidays. Importantly, the *Restor* contains:

the recapitulation of the deeds of valour performed in fulfilment of the vows, presented in the form of a debate to determine their relative merits and to award a prize of honor...the only known example of a *débat* of this nature and...seemingly an imitation of the proceedings...at the puy.¹⁰

The prize was the title of *roi* and, normally, a silver crown bestowed by the reigning Prince or President of the puy; others received a chaplet of leaves.¹¹ This was also an event where, as on the Feast of Fools, different classes came into contact. Festivities usually included a Mystery play, a literary contest, and a series of *jeux-partis*.

More information on this event is forthcoming in the *Parfait*, the final Peacock poem. Author Jean de le Mote describes three essential aspects which reoccur for each session. First, there is a public meeting where the participant, after having sworn that he alone has spontaneously written his poem, reads it aloud and leaves a copy. Second, there is a private meeting where the judges discuss the respective merits of the entries. Last, there is another public meeting where the winners are announced and crowned.¹²

Just as there was a performance of 'courtly' poetry at the puy, so there was an example of humor based on toppling this rarified establishment

¹⁰ Restor 2, pp. 50, 54–57. Adam de la Halle, *Le Jeu de Robin et de Marion*, p. 56, mentions the following cities: Tournai, Arras, Lille, Amiens, Douai, Cambrai, Valenciennes, and Abbeville. On Arras see Roger Berger, *Le nécrologe de la confrérie des jongleurs et des bourgeois d'Arras (1194–1361)*, 2 vols. (Arras, 1970); Roger Berger, *Littérature et société arrageoises au XIII^e siècle: les chansons et dits artésiens* (Arras, 1981); Georges Espinas, *Les origines du droit d'association dans les villes de l'Artois et de la Flandre française jusqu'au début du XVI^e siècle*, 2 vols. (Lille, 1941–42). Carol Symes, *A Medieval Theater: Plays and the Public Sphere of Thirteenth Century Arras* (Cornell, 2007); I thank Nancy Regalado for this reference. On the confrérie littéraire Notre-Dame des Ardents des jongleurs, see *Sources d'histoire médiévale, IX^e – Milieu du XIV^e siècle*, dir. Ghislain Brunel and Élisabeth Lalou (Paris, 1992), pp. 612–614. Other useful references are: M. Bernhart, "Recherches sur l'histoire de la corporation des ménestriers ou joueurs d'instruments de la ville de Paris," *Bibliothèque de l'École de Chartes*, 3 (1891), pp. 377–404; Romain Goldron, *Minstrels and Masters* (New York, 1968); and Christopher Hogwood, *Music at Court* (London, 1977). Also on jongleurs, see Christopher Page, *The Owl and the Nightingale: Musical Life and Ideas in France 1100–1300* (Berkeley, 1989).

¹¹ See Henri Guy, *Essai sur la vie et les oeuvres littéraires de Adan de le Halle* (Paris, 1898); Edmond Faral, *Les arts poétiques du XII^e et du XIII^e siècle. Recherches et documents sur la technique littéraire du moyen âge* (Paris, 1924); and, *Les jongleurs en France au moyen âge* (Paris, 1910).

¹² *Parfait*, p. 14.

with the crudest of missiles – fatrasies, fatras, and *sottes chansons*.¹³ These constituted one of the prize genres: nonsense and obscene poetry.

The thirteenth-century poetic genre known as fatrasie (which could be characterized as a patchwork or incoherent assembly) creates an impossible world, akin to marginalia, where the inanimate become animate, animals perform human actions, and ‘hybrids’ are created via the unrealistic dismemberment of objects and mutually exclusive, oxymoronic combinations of words.¹⁴ Importantly, for a comparison with the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock, both the fatras and fatrasie create semantic ‘hybrids’. It should be noted, however, that this conceit was presented within strict stylistic parameters. The fatrasie, for example, is “Un poème d’une seule strophe renfermant onze vers et qui était ordonnée d’après le schéma aabaab(5)babab(7).”¹⁵ The fatras is also a single strophe of eleven lines; it, however, incorporates a distych which furnishes the two-rhyme schemes (AB AabaabbabaB) and the meter.¹⁶ Lambert C. Porter writes:

On dirait que dans la fatrasie nous avons l’oeuvre d’un poète qui essayait... de joindre à la tête humaine un cou chevin. En face d’un pareil début on est immédiatement convaincu qu’on a affaire à un poète qui avait pour seul but de priver ses compositions de tout plan et de tout concept logique.¹⁷

The genre is built in relation to courtly literature which it parodies and derides with frequent obscenity. It appears, however, that in attempting to outdo each other in technical prowess, the poets grafted on highly explicit scatological, rather than sexual, verse. Take, for example, this poem by Watriquet de Couvin:

Sans confort ne vivrai mie
De la douche longuement.
Sans confort ne vivrai mie

¹³ See Lambert C. Porter, *La Fatrasie et le Fatras. Essai sur la poésie irrationnelle en France au Moyen Âge* (Geneva, 1960); Giovanna Angeli, “Mundus inversus, mundus perversus de la fatrasie à la sottie,” *Revue des langues romanes* 86 (1982), pp. 127–132; and Paul Zumthor, “Fatrasie/Fatraissiers,” in *Langue, text, énigme* (Paris, 1975), pp. 68–88. The standard edition of *sottes chansons* is Långfors, but also see “*Sottes chansons contre Amours*,” *Parodie et burlesque au Moyen Âge*, ed. and trans. Eglal Doss-Quinby, Marie-Geneviève Grossel, and Samuel N. Rosenberg (Paris, 2010). For a discussion of *sottes chansons* in relation to charivari, see Nancy Freeman Regalado, *Roman de Fauvel* (New York, 1990), pp. 24–26; and eadem, “Masques réels,” in *Masques et déguisement* (Montreal, 1988), pp. 112–126.

¹⁴ My inspiration for this section is Camille, *Image on the Edge*, p. 13.

¹⁵ Porter, *La Fatrasie* p. 22.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 76–77.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

Se vous ne baisiez demie,
 Sire, de mon fondement;
 Et se li trous en lermie,
 Vous mascherez croste et mie
 De ce breneus oingnement
 D'entour, si sarez comment
 On destrempe tel boillie;
 Puis humés tout chaudement,
 Si porrez avoir copie
 De la douce longuement
 (Watriquet no. 5, p. 150)

Without a love token I shall no longer live [on sweet longing], unless you half-kiss my behind sir, and if the asshole is weeping you'll chew up the crust of this shitty ointment. Thus you'll learn how one sups this soup and breathes it in steaming. Thus you may shit sweet longing.

This second example provides a good sense of the element of the fantastic in this genre which is so akin to marginalia:

Uns pez a deus cus
 S'estoit revestus
 Por lirre gramaire,
 Et uns chas cornus
 Devenoit reclus
 Si vesti la haire
 Li pans d'une manche vaire
 Lor a dist : « Traiés en sus ! »
 En chantant les faisoit taire,
 Qant li ombres de seüs
 I corut ses braies traire.
 (Les fatrasies d'Arras, no. 29)¹⁸

The two-assed fart dressed itself to read a grammar book, and a horned cat became a monk and put on a hair shirt, and the tippet of a parti-colored sleeve said to them, "Get out of here!" While singing he silenced them and then the shadow of an elderberry tree ran to pull off his underpants.

Whereas the syntagmatic ruptures in these verse forms create nonsense, heightened by anticipation in reading or listening, the marginalia are empowered by the act of reading, where they 'intrude' on the well-established dialogue between text and miniature.¹⁹

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 129.

¹⁹ Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, p. 15, stresses "the overwhelming dominance of the aural, the communal and – not to oversimplify – the various in the literary experience of the age." On the probability that the reader "explained, updated and edited the material as he went along," see Sylvia Huot, *From Song to Book*:

The earliest extant examples of *fatras* date from the 1320s in the work of the Belgian poet Watriquet de Couvin. It is a form of the thirteenth-century *fatrasie*. Watriquet's *fatras* are preserved in an early fourteenth-century manuscript where they are introduced as performance pieces created for "Phelippe de France."²⁰ The immediate context of the performance – for royal diversion on Easter day – is at odds with the obscene nature of Watriquet's poems. As with the marginalia, they present a coarse rebuttal of courtly love poetry. The most salient elements of the *fatras* are impossibility, parody, and obscenity.²¹ The last is most often scatological in nature.

They were performed aloud by two speakers or singers, starting beautifully enough with two lines from a familiar love poem, which served to create the rhyme-scheme. Next, the poem turns into a celebration of calculated nonsensical, and often obscene language. Thus the courtly ambience is broken, artfully reviled, and then reinstated. One of Watriquet's *fatras* wins the prize at the puy in the *Parfait*:

Amis, amés de cuer d'amie,
Amez comme loiaus amis.

"Amis, amez de cuer d'amie,
Je vous lirai d'astronomie,"
Ce dist uns ours a deus tamis
Qui avoient l'ost estourmie,
(Watriquet, no. 29, p. 158)

Friend, love with a lady lover's heart
Love as a loyal lover

"Friend, love with a lover's heart
I shall read you astronomy,"
Says a bear with two sieves
Who had given the alarm (in battle)

...

The Poetics of Writing in Old French Lyric and Lyrical Narrative Poetry (Ithaca, 1987), p. 84. Nigel Wilkins, *Music in the Age of Chaucer*, 2nd edition (Cambridge, 1995), p. 126, argues that a romance would not have been sung at this date except on a very special occasion. Also see: Coleman, *Public Reading*; Evelyn Birge Vitz, *Orality and Performance in Early French Romance* (Woodbridge, 1999); and Evelyn Birge Vitz, Nancy Regalado, and Marilyn Lawrence, eds., *Performing Medieval Narrative* (Woodbridge, 2005).

²⁰ BnF, ms. fr. 14968, fol. 162, cited in Porter, *La Fatrasie et le Fatras*, p. 72: *Ci commencent li fastras de quoi Raimmondin et Watriquet desputerent le jour de Pasques, devant le roy, Phelippe de France*. Porter, p. 73, goes on to argue that this is Philippe VI.

²¹ On the element of parody, see Porter, *La Fatrasie et le Fatras*, p. 95.

The nonsensical hybrid construction of these genres parallels the creation of the marginalia from disparate parts which make an unholy, comedic whole.

THE PERFORMERS

Contemporary descriptions of minstrels could be applied to many of the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock. The *Restor* provides a rare portrait of the 'King of the Minstrels':²²

Quaint li fiex Filippou ot sa volente dite, / Li rices rois des Griex qui nul bien ne despite, / Li rois des menestreus qui les autres aquite / Se leva en estant pardessus la carpite. / Par grant aage avoit fache palle et afflite, / Barbe blanche et chenu et pas n'estoit petite. / L'un jour faisoit le fol et l'endemain l'ermite, / Et comme nains bochus et com contrais habite, / Les preus claime coars, l'un wihot, l'autre herite, / Ensi que ses voloires por plaie li endite. / De parler s'apresta car cascuns l'i encite. (*Restor* 2, II, ll. 124–134)

When the son of Philippe had had his say, the great King of the Greeks, who despised nothing good, then the King of the Minstrels, who surpassed the others, rises and stands above the carpet. His face was pale and marked by age, his beard long, grizzled and white. Some days he went about acting like a hermit; on others he played the fool, and, disguised as a hunch-backed, crippled dwarf, he would taunt the brave men according to his whims, calling this one a coward, that one a lecher, the other a heretic. Then, seeking to please he accuses them. He prepares to speak, for all are calling on him.²³

This concrete example of the use of the vocabulary of derision employed by a *jongleur* is invaluable for an understanding of the images of 'heretics' in the Glazier Peacock. The insult of heretic is based on the person *not* being one; that, and the person who has the license to thus disparage an aristocrat or social superior, is the basis of the humor.²⁴ Depicted on the

²² *Restor* 2, p. 57. The text also relates that he has experience as a herald (*Restor* II, ll. 103–23 and 136–38).

²³ Note that the Glazier Peacock substitutes *ribaud* (lecher) for [PP6]'s *wihot* (cuckold). The word *ribaud*, aside from its sexual connotations was especially used as an insult to top-ranking knights. Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed., Geoffrey Brereton (London, 1978) points out, p. 476, that *ribaud*, along with *brigand* and *coustiller*, was used for "irregulars, light infantry; in general...undrafted troops, with light or no armor and carrying a *coustille* (long knife or short sword), who accompanied the organized armies for what they could pick up." The word *herite* was frequently used as an insult, as in the Reynard tales. For example, Grimbert the badger, a priest, says to Reynard, just after the latter has confessed, "You son of a whore, filthy heretic, wicked, cruel rogue," Owen, *The Romance of Reynard*, Branch I, l. 1167, p. 22.

²⁴ *Restor* 2, p. 288, notes for *Restor* II, l. 131.

page, it reinforces the viewer's association with the aristocrats represented in the miniatures. René de Lespinasse describes minstrels in the fourteenth century as:

...artistes attachés à la Cour des rois et à la suite des seigneurs, avec les trouvères, les hérauts d'armes et autres officiers subalternes ayant pour mission d'amuser par les représentations, les jeux, la musique. D'autres circulaient de châteaux en châteaux, voyageant beaucoup pour mieux faire apprécier leurs talents.²⁵

John Southworth, in his study of English minstrels, provides insight into the medieval reception of performers and the scurrilous nature of some of the entertainment. In 1185, for example, King Henry II's jocator/serjeant is named Ralph le Pettour (farter). In a work of c.1380, *Piers Plowman*, we find the following:

I am a minstrel...
 But I play neither tabor nor trumpet, and cannot tell romances,
 Or harp or fiddle or fart in tune at feasts,
 Or tell jokes, or juggle, or pipe a jig,
 Nor tumble, neither, nor dance, nor sing to the gittern.²⁶

In keeping with the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock, Southworth writes that, in 1312, nude dancers entertained Edward III on his visit to France.²⁷

On fol. 32, image, text, rubric, and marginalia intersect. Battle is waged before a castle in the miniature (the rubric at the very bottom of the folio reads: *Ainsi que la bataille fu devant la cité Fésonas*), following the text while, in the bas-de-page, a cat watches a *jongleur* playing a vielle (figs. 89, 90).²⁸ As the artist of the miniature and the scribe recording the words of

²⁵ René de Lespinasse, *Histoire générale de Paris. Les métiers et corporations de la ville de Paris*, vol. 3, XIV^e–XVIII^e siècle: Tissus, étoffes, vêtements, cuirs et peaux, métiers divers (Paris, 1897), pp. 573–574, 576. On trumpeters, de Lespinasse, p. 574, writes that “parmi eux se trouvaient les gueites du Palais et du Châtelet, chargés du service important des signaux et autres appels adressés la population parisienne.” De Lespinasse, p. 574 and n. 4, cites the later accounts of King John the Good's imprisonment in England which mention a “Roi des ménétriers qui restera définitivement au chef de la communauté, attaché à la maison royale et traité en compagnon et en homme de confiance pour la personne du roi.”

²⁶ Cited in Southworth, *The English Medieval Minstrel*, p. 81; on the translation, see n. 78; for an in-depth study on minstrels, see Allen, *On Farting*.

²⁷ Southworth, *The English Medieval Minstrel*, p. 86.

²⁸ See Hunt, “The Naked Jongleur.” Hunt's complex text, pp. 118–119, posits meaning inscribed in the fools which appear in the Glazier Peacock, “For the mixed-gender audience reflected in the miniatures, the hyper-virile behavior of the naked jongleur may have been amusing as a parody of the ideals of chivalric love conveyed in the text yet sexualized in the miniature, or even of the effeminacy of the knights passing time inside



Fig. 89. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 32, A minstrel plays the vielle before a cat in the bas-de-page (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 90. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 32, det., A minstrel plays a vielle (photo with permission: PML).

the author tell the story visually and verbally, the artist of the marginalia implies the possibility that the story was performed.²⁹

Two more examples occur, on fols. 121v and 124v, where a man and, respectively, a woman play the pipe and tabor (figs. 91, 92). Both wear conical hats, but the man has a crown at the base of his – a papal tiara(?) – in mockery of a figure of authority; perhaps Alexander the Great, who is always portrayed in the miniatures with a crown.



Fig. 91. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 121v, det., A dancing man plays the pipe and tabor (photo with permission: PML).

Fig. 92. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 124v, det., A female hybrid plays the pipe and tabor (photo with permission: PML).

the castle walls." She convincingly argues, p. 127, that, "The performing flesh of the naked jongleur simultaneously articulates the gendered values of the courtly viewer and assigns greater value to the terms of status found in the text and image."

²⁹ On this fourteenth-century phenomenon in general, see Huot, *From Song to Book*.

Trumpets were exclusive instruments, “reserved to the minstrels of kings and their greater nobles,” in peace or in war.³⁰ In the *Restor*, they are used at parties and to announce the king:

Des menestreus huchier fist li rois grant mare / Tout entour le pais a droite
avirounnee. / Cascuns aporte trompe ou vielle atempree, / Nacaires et tabors
de grande renomee. (*Restor* II, ll. 1153–1156)



Fig. 93. PML, MS G24, *Voies du paon*, fol. 44, det., Buisine players announce the arrival of the roasted peacock (photo with permission: PML).

³⁰ Southworth, *The English Medieval Minstrel*, p. 102.

Minstrels announced the king with great pomp as he traveled throughout the country. Each one carried a trumpet or well-tuned *vielle*, or loud *nakers* and drums.

Trumpets can be found throughout the margins in the Glazier Peacock, some with fantastic heraldic penants.³¹ One is played via the arse. Trumpeters announce the arrival of the roasted peacock on fol. 44 (figs. 21, 93). Both 'loud' and 'soft' instruments appear: those such as the trumpet, drums and bagpipes, which would be heard above all others, and the more intimate strings and woodwinds.³²

³¹ For a complete list, see Index of Marginalia for 'long trumpet (*buisine*)'.

³² Marginalia appear roughly simultaneous with developments in music which scholars such as Edmund A. Bowles posit were directly related to the crusades and heightened contact with the East via Spain and Sicily. See Edmund A. Bowles, "Eastern Influences on the Use of Trumpets,"; see esp. pp. 21–23 for France and England. Winternitz, "Bagpipes for the Lord," writing of the *Hours of Jeanne d'Évreux*, points out the important role of secular music in Paris; for example, the 1321 establishment of the *confrérie* of St-Julien-des-Ménéstriers, a guild of French instrumentalists under a *roy des ménestriers*.

CHAPTER SIX

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: TEXTS, IMAGES, AND HERESY

[The] successive authors of the French 'Roman d'Alexandre'...made Alexander a medieval knight, surrounded by twelve Peers, such as Aristotle, and they extolled him as the 'father of chivalry'; all-conquering, large-hearted, sublimely generous in rewarding faithful service with largesse and in conciliating the vanquished foe.¹

Thus far, I have examined isolated marginal images or semi-related groupings of them. It is, however, in their entirety that they may function on yet another level, as a visual gloss for the text. In relation to the chivalric ideals put forth by the stories and, in particular, the figure of Alexander the Great, I propose a reading of them as an exemplum. At the center of this reading of the marginalia as an ensemble in the Glazier Peacock is an interpretation in which the Templars represent the inverse of Alexander the Great. In medieval literature, Alexander can simply function as a hero of epic and adventure. Writing of illuminated *Roman d'Alexandre* manuscripts, Keith Busby argues that "[they] reflect to an even greater degree similar concern with the text both as a repository of the *merveilleux* and as a manual of medieval kingship."² Mark Cruse's study of the Bodleian Alexander provides a rich and expansive treatment of the various personae that Alexander represented in the Middle Ages: courtly figure, conqueror, judge, and crusader.³ In the Peacock Cycle, particularly the *Voeux*, Alexander is the ideal medieval king living an exemplary life.⁴

¹ Ritchie 3, pp. xxx–xxxi.

² Busby, *Codex and Context*, vol. 1, p. 289.

³ Cruse, *Illuminating the 'Roman d'Alexandre,'* *passim*.

⁴ See A. Giacchetti, "Le personnage d'Alexandre dan *Les Voeux de paon*," in *Mélanges offerts à Jean Frappier*, vol. 1 (Geneva, 1970), pp. 351–364; Martin Gosman, "Alexandre le Grand et le statut de la noblesse ou le plaidoyer pour la permanence: Prolegomènes à l'histoire d'une légende," in *'Non nova, sed nove'. Mélanges de civilisation médiévale dédiés à Willem Noomen*, eds. Martin Gosman and Jaap van Os (Groningen, 1984), pp. 81–93; Martin Gosman, "Au carrefour des tradition scriptuaires: *Les Voeux du paon* et l'apport des écritures épiques et romanesques," *Communication au Xe Congrès de la Société Rencesvals*, Strasbourg 1985, résumé. *Olifant* 11, no. 1 (Spring 1986), p. 73; John L. Grigsby, "Courtesy in *Les Voeux du Paon*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 86 (1985), pp. 566–575. Also see: Busby, *Codex and Context*, pp. 289, 291–92; and D.J.A. Ross, ed., *The Medieval Alexander*, (First

In the Glazier Peacock, a relationship playing on parallels and anti-parallels can be established between the figure of Alexander in the text and miniatures, and the illustrations of Templars in the margins. For example, the Templars were knights and Alexander is portrayed as the ideal chivalric knight; both the Templars and Alexander of the Glazier Peacock's texts were fighting against 'the infidel'.⁵ The textual Alexander restores order through victory in battle and chivalric heterosexuality. The Templars, accused of crimes in the early fourteenth century, such as homosexuality, left a tragedy of torture and death in their wake.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR: HISTORY AND HERESY

The Knights Templar were members of a religious order founded in Jerusalem in 1119 or 1120 in response to the crusades and named for their place of residence, the Temple of Solomon.⁶ In addition to the vows of poverty, chastity and obedience, the Templars, as knights, vowed to defend pilgrims in the Holy Land. More importantly, they also acted as a 'bank' for pilgrims and crusaders, which enabled the order to grow quickly in wealth and power. Furthermore, they had an exemption from local religious and secular authorities; they were answerable only to the pope.

published by Cary in 1956; then fully edited by Ross, Cambridge, 2009). On the interpretation of Alexander in relation to Christ, see Ian Michael, "Typological Problems in Medieval Alexander Literature: The Enclosure of Gog and Magog," in *The Medieval Alexander Legend and Romance Epic: Essays in Honour of D.J.A. Ross*, eds. Peter Noble, Lucie Polak, and Claire Isoz, (Millwood, NY, 1982), pp. 131–147, esp. pp. 132 and 144. Michael points out that Early Christian historians interpreted Alexander as a *cosmocrator*, or secular forerunner of Christ. Medieval mapmakers used this typological mode and presented Alexander as a *cosmocrator* in relation to his imprisonment of the races of Gog and Magog. In the Bible (Genesis 10:2, Ezekiel 39, Revelations 20), the peoples of Gog and Magog are equated with heathenism in general; in medieval thought they were specifically associated with the Turks and Islam. See Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, pp. 138–9; Kline, *Maps of Medieval Thought*; and Friedman, *The Monstrous Races*.

⁵ See the image of a 'Saracen' wearing a knotted turban on fol. 37v.

⁶ I thank Elizabeth A.R. Brown for sharing her thoughts on this chapter and for bringing the following scholars to my attention: Malcolm Barber, *The Trial of the Templars*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge, 2006), whom I thank for his help with the Templar bibliography; for an indispensable chronology of the trial of the Templars, see Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 291–293; and Sean L. Field, "La Fin de l'ordre du Temple à Paris: le cas de Mathieu de Cressonessart," in *La Fin de l'ordre du Temple*, ed. Marie-Anna Chevalier (Montpellier, 2012), pp. 101–132. I thank Sean L. Field for sending me an offprint of his article and directing me to Filip Hooghe, "The Trial of the Templars in the County of Flanders (1307–12)," in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars (1307–1314)*, eds. Jochen Burgtorf, Paul F. Crawford, and Helen J. Nicholson (Burlington, VT, 2010), pp. 285–299.

In 1307, King Philippe le Bel sent out secret instructions to arrest the Templars and to seize their goods in France.⁷ Historian Filip Hooghe has written that, "...a possible motivation for the Templars' arrest was the need to relieve King Philippe le Bel's acute financial problems; one cause of these problems was his attempt to extend his powers over Flanders."⁸ Malcom Barber writes that, "[the king] justified his action on three main grounds: the denial [of Christ] and spitting [on a crucifix], obscene kissing and homosexuality, and idol worship," which were to a large part elicited by torture.⁹

The affair came to a head in France when fifty-four Templars were burned at the stake in 1310. Pope Clement V, at first inclined to defend the order, eventually ceded to the French king in 1311 at the Council of Vienne. In 1312, the pope abolished the order, forbidding any person to enter it or wear its habit on pain of excommunication.¹⁰ Filip Hooghe has written on the direct impact this issue had in the Lowlands, where the Glazier Peacock was painted:

On 22 March, 1312, in [Pope Clement V]'s bull *Ad providam*, the pope decreed that he had decided after careful consideration that all the Templars' confiscated possessions, which belonged to the Holy See, should be transferred to the Hospital of St. John in Jerusalem. All who kept such properties in their possession should transfer them to the Hospitallers within the month, on pain of excommunication and other punishments. Yet the transfer... did not proceed smoothly outside of France, including the county of Flanders.¹¹

⁷ For an overview and analysis of Phillippe le Bel's most probable reasons for his actions against the Templars, see Barber, *The Trial*, 'Conclusion', pp. 283–290. For a detailed exploration of Philippe le Bel's motives, see Elizabeth A.R. Brown, "Moral Imperatives and Conundrums: Reflections on Phillip the Fair of France," *Speculum* 87 (2012), pp. 1–36. I thank the author for sending me a copy of this important article.

⁸ Hooghe, *The Trial*, p. 285.

⁹ Barber, *The Trial*, Chapter 7, 'The Charges', pp. 202–216, p. 202; Barber writes, p. 311, that: The problems we have seen in interpreting the evidence of inquisitorial depositions are compounded in this case [dealing with homosexuality], since it is apparently especially difficult to persuade people to tell the truth about their sexual activities.

¹⁰ In this manner, the figures of marginalia wearing Templar garb are sacrilegious and transgressive. See Parker, *The Knights Templar*, p. 89, and G.A. Campbell, *The Knights Templar: Their Rise and Fall* (London, 1937), p. 334.

¹¹ Hooghe, *The Trial*, p. 298. For early documents on the Templars in Flanders, see Marquis d'Albon, *Cartulaire Général de l'Ordre du Temple: 119–1150: recueilles des chartes et des bulles relatives à l'Ordre du Temple* (Paris, 1913), available in full on Gallica, Bibliothèque Numérique. I thank Malcolm Barber for this citation. Also, see Theresa M. Vann, "The Assimilation of Templar Properties by the Order of the Hospital," in *The Debate on the Trial of the Templars* Burgtorf, pp. 339–346.

After both the pope and the king – amongst others – withdrew sums of money from the Templars' wealth to cover the cost of the prosecution, the vast majority of the order's holdings did, indeed, go to the Knights Hospitaller.¹²

It is difficult to ascertain the impact these actions had on the Templars in Flanders. Surprisingly, Jan Hosten relates that:

There are no records of a trial in Flanders. [After the trial in Paris], the Templars in Flanders were...absorbed by the Hospitallers, who took over the buildings and activities of the Temple, but that process took quite a long time as in many other European regions.¹³

The later ecclesiastic matters, however, were financially and politically charged, and the Templars were routinely found guilty in France. Malcolm Barber writes, however, that:

Flanders was a different case in that...the wars with France impinged on all aspects of Flemish society, including the military order. Templars from Flanders who confessed did so because they were enveloped in the French proceedings. As a means of enabling Clement V to take over the proceedings, the papal bull *Pastoralis praeeminentiae*, which in November 1307 extended the trial to other countries, was a failure.¹⁴

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR: LITERARY SATIRE

The charge against the Templars of sodomy and ritual arse-kissing plays on the conjuncture of the physical stench of the arse and the spiritual stench of the sin of heresy.¹⁵ These charges were incorporated in near-contemporary and later satirical literature. The author of *Renard le contre-fait*, for example, writes that:

¹² See Malcolm Vale, "The World of the Courts: Content and Context of the *Fauvel* Manuscript," in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 591–598, who writes, p. 593, that "[Enguerrand de Marigny, the king's principal chamberlain], and other office-holders in the royal financial administration, did well out of the dissolution of the Templars and the removal from them of their banking and accounting functions."

¹³ I thank Jan Hosten for this information (private communication).

¹⁴ Malcolm Barber, 'Introduction', in *The Debate*, pp. 1–8, p. 8.

¹⁵ On the "stench of perfidy," see Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, p. 61. Even in the fabliaux homosexuality appears very rarely. See Per Nykrog, *Les Fabliaux*, p. 180, who writes of "...l'horreur médiévale pour l'homosexualité, même dans les fabliaux: injure cuisante, menace qui fait horreur." Rossi, *Fabliaux érotiques*, p. 536, writes that with few exceptions, listed in nn. 5–6, eroticism and copulation in the fabliaux are extremely conventional.

La cause est pour quoy ilz furent prins, selon ce que les Grans Maistres recongnurent, fust car quant on recevoit aucun frere, tantost que on lui avoit mis le mantel, il faisoit la profession et juroit qu'il garderoit les secrés du Temple, et, ce fait, on le menoit a part, et, la croix mise devant lui, on lui faisoit renoier Dieu, Jhesucrist, et crachier contre la croix, et puis baisoit le dessoubz de celui qui le recevoit, et, ce fait, on lui donnoit congié qu'il feïst son ordure et sa laidure avecques les hommes masles. Ces choses et pluseurs aultres confesserent les ditz Maistres et pluseurs autres des ditz freres de la dite ordre, ou par paour de tourmens, ou par aultre maniere. (*Renard le contrefait*, I, p. 292, §152)

The reason for [the Templars'] imprisonment, according to the testimony of the Grand Masters, was that upon receiving a new brother into the order, after he took his habit, he professed his vows, promising to guard all the secrets of the Temple. After which, he was taken privately and made to spit upon the cross and to renounce God, Jesus Christ, and then to kiss the arse of the one who received him; then he was given permission to perform filthy, ugly acts with the evil men. This testimony was given by the Grand Masters and brothers of the Temple, out of fear, torture, or under other circumstances.¹⁶

Another example is the work of Jean le Court, dit Brisebarre, the author of the *Restor*, who describes the Templars' infractions at length in his satirical poem, *The Bishop's Plea Bargain with Law*.¹⁷

¹⁶ This work was written in two redactions by an anonymous cleric from Troyes; the first between 1319–1322, and the second between 1328–1342, Gaston Raynaud and Henri Lemaître, eds., 2 vols. (Reprint, Geneva, 1977; Paris, 1914), ll. 1319–22 and 1328–42. For a full bibliography and description of this work, see http://www.arlima.net/qt/renart_le_contrefait.html; and DLF, pp. 1252–1253. Jean-Claude Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir: lire la satire médiévale* (Paris, 1994), pp. 354–358, discusses this work. On the iconography of Reynard, see Varty, *Reynard the Fox*.

¹⁷ For the text, see Jonna Kjaer, ed., “Brisebare: *Le Plait de L'Evesque et de Droit*, édition critique du ms. ancien fonds royal no. 2061 -4 de la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague,” *Revue Romane* (numéro spécial) 10 (1977), pp. 1–129; see notes on p. 97. On the rapprochement of heresy and sodomy see Kjaer's note to line 826, p. 92: “He who errs against the faith as a heretic [*comme en mescreeance*] or commits sodomy [*sodomiterie*] is to be burned and all his possessions forfeited...” Cited from Philippe de Beaumanoir, *Coutumes de Beauvaisis*, 1283, 2 vols., ed. A. Salmon (Paris, 1899–1900), no. 833. Also see Steven M. Taylor, “In Defense of Larceny: A Fourteenth-Century French Ironic Encomium,” *Neophilologus* 65 no. 3 (1981), pp. 358–365. Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, p. 358, writes that “*Le Plait...* est, avec le *Roman de Fauvel*, le seul texte satirique contemporain à mentionner explicitement la sodomie des Templiers.” This work was written after 1312, most likely in Paris, DLF, p. 801. The identity of the author has recently been called into question; on this subject, see Laurent Brun, ed., http://www.arlima.net/il/jean_le_court.html#, updated December, 2011 (accessed 2012). For other important sources, see: Guillaume Mollat, ed. and trans., *Bernard Gui, Manuel de l'Inquisiteur* (Paris, 1926); and Giovanni Gonnet, “Le cheminement des vaudois vers le schisme et l'hérésie,” *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*, 19 (1976), pp. 309–345.

Apries ciaus mout fort debate / Omecide et Envie ossi, / car il dist que cil doi
 preudomme / fissent tuer le quart dou monde / quant Caÿns destruisi Abbel; /
 dont il ne vint pas a Diu biel: / lors se levan uns pecies grans, / ors, wastés, /
 honteus et puans / que li quatre peciet hoient / si qu'ens riens ne le compa-
 gnoient. / Tantos que devant iaus passoit, / cescuns le sien nés estoupoit / en
 disant que de li sans plus / estoit tous li airs corrompus, / si que Nature se
 parti / dou lieu, lors que s'i embati, / car il est nommés par droiture / sodo-
 mites contre Nature / et pour çou Nature le het / que par son gret ouvrer ne
 set... / Chius chi fu en haut refuses / et comme mauvais reprouvés / de Verité
 qui dist ensi: / "Par l'ordure de cesti chi / Dieus, en verité, san fantome, / fist
 les .v. cytés de Sodome / fondre (et) en abisme [et] / tresbucier, / et par li
 furent li Templier / destruit, çou est cose prouee, / qui jadis fu ord(e)ne
 honneree, / se ne doit / pas passer se vois."... / Bougrenie qui les Waudois /
 fait en le foi [de] Diu mescroire / ne se vaut adont plus recroire / de sen
 tiesmoingnage porter. / Verités l'ala resputer / pour tresmauvais et pour
 menteur, / car il dist que toute l'esrer / que tous li peules maiscreans, / Juÿs,
 Sarrasin et Piersans, / ont et aront et one eüe / venra de lui et est venue.
 (*Le Plait de l'Evesque*, ll. 809–856)

[The bishop's witnesses], Homicide and Envy, were also denounced and contested [by Truth]...Then a great sin stood up [Sodomy]. It was so vile, dismal, shameful and foul that all the other sins loathed and avoided it. As it passed before them each plugged its nose saying that it corrupted the air; thus Nature, who hates this sin, it left this place, for sodomites are referred to as those 'against Nature'. Truth berated Sodomy, saying, "This sin's filth led God, verily, to destroy the five cities of Sodom; it led the once honorable order of the Templars to their destruction. Sodomy's testimony must not be accepted here." Neither should 'Heresy' [Bougrenie,¹⁸ practiced by the Waudois in disbelief of God] be permitted to give testimony. Truth showed Heresy was evil and a liar, the cause of all the errors of miscreant peoples – Jews, Saracens and Persians – past, present and future.

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLAR: VISUAL SATIRE, C. 1320–C. 1350

The painter/iconographer in the Glazier Peacock clearly references Templars in the margins by costume – the hats bearing a cross. More importantly, however, he does so via their *actions* – the kiss on the arse.¹⁹ The kiss was purported to be part of an initiation rite for the Templars,

¹⁸ From 'Bougre' (Bulgarus) which was used for the first time c. 1200 to describe the Cathars. See Bernard Delmaire, "Un sermon arrageois inédit sur les Bougres du Nord de la France (vers 1200)," *Heresis*, 17 (December, 1991), pp. 1–15. In this sermon, the Bougres are compared to the foxes which devastate the vineyards from the *Song of Songs*.

¹⁹ At no time, however, are there scenes of sodomy.

and images of it occur throughout the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock, operating as a signifier which contributes to what I term the 'iconography of heresy'. On fol. 70, a Templar kisses the arse of a monk, while on fols. 72v and 79, respectively, a human-headed hybrid wearing a mitre kisses the arse of an ape, and a hybrid dog does the same (figs. 94, 95, 96).²⁰



Fig. 94. PML, MS G24, *Voex du paon*, fol. 70, det., A Templar/flagellant kisses the arse of a hybrid monk (photo with permission: PML).

Fig. 96. PML, MS G24, *Voex du paon*, fol. 79, det., A hybrid dog kisses the arse of a monkey (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 95. PML MS G24, *Voex du paon*, fol. 72v, det., A bishop hybrid kisses the arse of a monkey (photo with permission: PML).

²⁰ Templars are identified in the Glazier Peacock by a red cross on a hat (sometimes white). The high conical hat, however, was a fashionable accessory for men in the first half of the fourteenth century and when it appears elsewhere in the Glazier Peacock should not be confused with a Templar attribute.

The *osculum infame* or obscene kiss refers to an act of homage in which idolaters worshipped Lucifer by kissing his arse.²¹ Jeffrey Burton Russell, however, writes that:

...the *osculum infame* [in the case of the Templars]...is particular in that the kiss, rather than being offered directly to the Devil, was instead bestowed upon a man. This variation probably represents an attempt by [the Templars'] enemies to reinforce the sexual charges being made against [them], namely that they practiced homosexuality.²²

'High' and 'low', front and back intermingle unexpectedly in the Templar's purported anal kisses. Though the Templar's act in and of itself constitutes a Bakhtinian 'uncrowning' as a joke in the tradition of arse-generated laughter, the decidedly religious content precludes a purely carnivalesque interpretation. Gurevich's characterization of 'grotesque thinking' in religious literature where "[it] can evoke merriment, but does not destroy fear...[I]t simultaneously profanes the sacred and confirms it," is strangely reproduced in the Glazier Peacock where the representation of the 'unnatural' transgression of religious norms only serves to create a humorous moral by reinforcing the norms themselves.²³

Thus, these images of the Templars are in keeping with the scatological humor found consistently in marginalia from the Lowlands.²⁴ They were most likely the catalysts for the particularly high percentage of obscene images in the Glazier Peacock.²⁵ By referencing the Templars, they also perpetuate the "traditional association of idolatry and sins 'against nature'

²¹ On the *osculum infame* in relation to heretics, including the Templars, see Jeffrey Burton Russell, *Witchcraft in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca, 1972), p. 24, as a chief individual component of witchcraft; and pp. 194–196, in relation to Templars. On kiss imagery, see: Nicholas J. Perella, *The Kiss Sacred and Profane: An Interpretive History of Kiss Symbolism and Related Religio-Erotic Themes* (Berkeley, 1969); Kiril Petkov, *The Kiss of Peace: Ritual, Self and Society in the High and Late Medieval West* (Louvain, 2003). I thank Nancy Regalado for this reference. For another exploration of the *osculum infame*, see Sarah Lipton, "Jews, Heretics, and the Sign of the Cat in the *Bible moralisée*," *Word & Image* 8 (1992), pp. 362–377. Also see Wirth, *Les marges*, pp. 139–140, Chapter III, 'Genèse iconographique des drôleries'.

²² Russell, *Witchcraft*, p. 195.

²³ Aaron Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture: Problems of Belief and Perception* (Cambridge, 1988), pp. 207–208.

²⁴ See Appendices 2 and 5 for a list of arse-generated humor (in the form of proverbs) and, respectively, a detailed survey of obscenae from related manuscripts. For studies on illuminated manuscripts from this region with marginalia, see Hunt, *Illuminating the Borders* and Wirth, *Les marges*.

²⁵ Readers could have understood these images in multiple ways. Perhaps the most obvious reaction to them was comedic. This is especially the case with the ubiquitous images of bared arses, which the painter/iconographer uses to create hybrid beasts.

that had been used against heretics in the accusations of the *Bible moralisée* a century before."²⁶ Malcolm Barber enumerates the use of these accusations *prior* to the Templars concluding that they were not a "unique occurrence."²⁷ Adding weight to this assertion, Jean-Claude Mühlethaler has remarked that "La chute du Temple fait écho aux autres exemples historiques; évoquée au passé simple (*furent*), elle rejoint la chute de Sodome que Dieu '*fist...fondre en abîme*'."²⁸

Elizabeth A.R. Brown writes, however, that there is a rift between text and image in the satirical *Roman de Fauvel* on fol. 8v:

In the [*Roman de*] *Fauvel*...a lengthy passage approves Philip the Fair's campaign against the Templars, whereas the accompanying illustrations, [on fol. 8v], show, not Templar depravity, but rather groups of clerks lecturing first Fauvel and then mother church.²⁹

As there is no established iconographic tradition for the depiction of Templars which parallels or accompanies the texts concerning them, Mühlethaler's study and discussion of the miniature on fol. 8v is invaluable for providing what may be one of the earliest surviving images of Templars as clerics (fig. 97).³⁰

The miniature is part of a text-image-music nexus. The subject of the text and lyrics on fols. 8v-9 is the *complainte* of the Church/Ecclesia.³¹ There are two miniatures on fol. 8v: one, at upper left, shows three groups of tonsured religious. Two groups – one wearing white and the other brown – are on the top level of a two-tiered miniature, engaged in discussion. The third group – dressed in white – speaks to the donkey-headed Fauvel, who wears a white cloak (an abbot?). The second miniature is at the bottom of the second column (fig. 98). It depicts a personification of

²⁶ Camille, *The Gothic Idol*, p. 273; in particular, the chapter, "Templars, Talking Heads and an Idolatrous Pope", pp. 271–277, where Camille discusses the Templars in the wider context of the tradition of anticlerical attack. See as well Gagnebet, *Art profane et religion populaire*, pp. 206–11, who points out the intersection of initiation rites with sabbaths and carnivals.

²⁷ Barber, *The Trial*, pp. 202–203.

²⁸ Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, p. 358; ll. 834–835; the emphases are original to the author.

²⁹ Brown, "Moral Imperatives," p. 28, BnF, fr. 146, fol. 8v, Paris, by the Fauvel Master (who also painted a Peacock manuscript), c. 1320.

³⁰ Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, pp. 360–70; and p. 417, miniature no. 12, fol. 8v. See Edward Roesner, François Avril, and Nancy Freeman Regalado, intro., *Le Roman de Fauvel in the Edition of Mesire Chaillous de Pesstain: A Reproduction in Facsimile of the Complete Manuscript*, Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Fonds Français 146 (New York, 1990).

³¹ Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au pouvoir*, comments on this opening, pp. 359–362.



Fig. 98. BnF, ms. fr. 146, *Roman de Fauvel*, fol. 8v, det., Ecclesia and a group of Templars (photo with permission: BnF).

Ecclesia and a group of Templars. This miniature comprises one building, but is compositionally split by a carillon surmounted by a cross. Ecclesia is at left, seated in what appears to be a chapel with stained glass windows. She is a young woman with arms crossed over her breasts in a gesture normally reserved for the Virgin, which shows her humility; oddly, she has a pale violet halo. Here, the miniature appears to reveal Ecclesia's grief. Her head inclines to the right where a group of Templars are engrossed in discussion. Surprisingly, they are dressed in dark brown and grey robes covered with long black mantles; they wear equally dark berets. Without the text which identifies them here as Templars, they appear to be a group of erudite and venerable professors in the midst of a heated discussion. These garments, as the Order of the Knights Templar had by this time been dissolved, conform to the church ruling that it was forbidden to wear the clothing of this order which bore an equal-armed red cross on a white background.³²

³² Michael Camille, pp. 166–168, “Hybridity, Monstrosity, and Bestiality in the *Roman de Fauvel*,” in *Fauvel Studies*, pp. 161–174, discusses the idolatrous depiction of Renart with a

Mühlethaler identifies two other images of men wearing dark berets in BnF, fr. 146.³³ The first man, on fol. 28, wears a fur-lined green cloak, with lappets visible at his neck – the generic garb of a cleric. He is, in fact, an author, and holds his manuscript of the *Sex principes*. The second man, on fol. 34, is a participant in the *charivari*, a mock and raucous ‘serenade’ for newly-weds. Surely this man mimics clerics as is clear from the hat and mask with a long grey beard.³⁴ The specific type of mockery is reminiscent of the many examples of marginalia in the Glazier Peacock: he is baring his arse to the viewer.

Another depiction of Templars wearing brown cloaks over brown robes with black berets is in BnF, fr. 9081, where Baudoin is speaking to two Templars, on fol. 132. In BnF, fr. 22495, on fol 230v, there is an image from Guillaume de Tyr’s *Historia* where Gérard de Ridefort, Grand Master of the Templars, dressed with a black cloak over a black robe and wearing a black beret, gives money to hire troupes (fig. 99). The manuscript is dated



Fig. 99. BnF, ms. fr. 22495, Guillaume de Tyr, *Historia*, 1337, fol. 230v, det., Gérard de Ridefort, Grand Master of the Templars, gives money to hire troops (photo with permission: BnF).

Hospitaller at left and a Templar at right, kneeling in worship at his sides. Renart wears a mi-parti cape: one half is black with an equal-armed white cross; the other half is white with an equal-armed red cross (BnF, ms. fr. 372), Jacquemart Giélée, *Renart le Nouvel*, fol. 59 (fig. 6.2). Both figures wear beret-like hats.

³³ Mühlethaler, *Fauvel au Pouvoir*, describes the images on pp. 424, 427–428.

³⁴ See Nancy Freeman Regalado, “Masques réels dans le monde de l’imaginaire. Le rite et l’écrite dans le charivari du *Roman de Fauvel*, BnF, ms. fr. 146,” in *Masques et déguisements*

to 1337. This miniature is the work of the Parisian illuminator dubbed the Fauvel Master, who painted a Peacock manuscript.³⁵ He is joined in this manuscript by Richard de Montbaston who, with his daughter Jeanne, also painted Peacock manuscripts.³⁶

With the exception of the images in BnF. fr. 146, which the Peacock Master did not repeat in any fashion, there were no iconographic precedents for this subject matter. Even the obscene marginalia, which first appear in the late thirteenth century in the Lowlands, are unique in contrast to contemporary, and slightly later illuminated manuscripts. This is the case both for their occurrence and density in the Glazier Peacock. The Templar marginalia acquire a polysemous nature, however, when they are combined with iconographic references to the flagellants.

THE FLAGELLANTS

From 1348 to 1349, a specific event transpired that set the stage for some of the marginalia in the Glazier Peacock: the flagellant movement (fig. 44).³⁷

dans la littérature médiévale, ed. Marie-Louise Ollier (Montreal, 1988), pp. 112–126. Regalado, p. 118, fig. 2, discusses this figure in reference to the term *barboere*, a type of mask “à barbe dont les poils, les grosses oreilles et la gueule grimaçante évoquent et invoquent une force animale.” This interpretation serves to underscore the mockery of clerics.

³⁵ BnF, ms. fr. 24365 [M].

³⁶ MSS [N156S1].

³⁷ Nancy Regalado points out that the artist(s) may have adapted ‘common’ marginalia motifs to current events. For a succinct study, see Richard Kieckhefer, “Radical Tendencies in the Flagellant Movement of the Mid-Fourteenth Century,” *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies* 4 (1974), pp. 157–176; also see the more general work of Norman Cohn, *Les fanatiques de l'Apocalypse* (Paris, 1983), pp. 133–155; and Philip Ziegler, *The Black Death* (New York, 1969). For a colorful account of the flagellants’ rites, see Norbert Ohler, *The Medieval Traveller*, trans. C. Hillier (Woodbridge, 1989), pp. 236–239. For a brief history of flagellation in the Church in relation to the movement, see John Henderson, “The Flagellant Movement and Flagellant Confraternities in Central Italy, 1260–1400,” *Studies in Church History* 15 (1978), pp. 147–160; I thank Kurt Barstow for this source. Also, see Gurevich, *Medieval Popular Culture*, p. 29. Norman Cohn, *The Pursuit of the Millennium*, revised and expanded ed. (Oxford, 1970), Chapter 7, pp. 127–147. Also see Malcolm D. Lambert, *Medieval Heresy: Popular Movements from the Gregorian Reform to the Reformation*, 3rd ed. (Oxford, 2002), pp. 215, 218, 242–243. Contemporary and near-contemporary accounts of the flagellant movement appear in the following works: on Tournai, Gilles le Muisit, *Chronique et Annales de Gilles le Muisit*, ed. Henri LeMaitre (Paris, 1906), pp. 222–252, trans. in Johannes Nohl, *La mort noire: chronique de la peste* (Paris, 1986), pp. 274–276; on Liège, *Chronique de Jean le Bel*, eds. Jules M.E. Viard and Eugène Deprez (Paris, 1977), vol. 1, pp. 222–225, trans. in *Sources d'histoire médiévale*, pp. 807–808; on Spire and the Alsace: Albert de Strasbourg, *Histoire des flagellants*, trans. Abbé Boileau, new ed. Claude Louis-Combet (Montbonnot-St.-Martin, 1986); and Fritsche Closener, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte* (Leipzig, 1862), vol. VIII, p. 105, trans. in Louis Schneegans, “Le grand pèlerinage des flagellants à Strasbourg,”

Of the chroniclers who recorded this event, the Tournai-based abbot of Saint Martin, Gilles li Muisit (1272–1352) and the Liège-based Jean le Bel (1290–1370) are particularly important for the contemporary reception of the flagellants. Richard Kieckhefer's analysis of the 'hereticatization' of the flagellants documents the broad social composition of the movement, "In Tournai there was friction between the flagellants and certain members of the clergy, yet on the whole the Church was able to subject the penitents to its control..."³⁸

Froissart writes in rather sympathetic terms regarding the flagellants. He notes the "many reconciliations [which] were achieved through the penitents as they went about."³⁹ In addition, he remarks that, "Their rules contained some quite reasonable and acceptable things which agreed with such natural human inclinations as to journey about and do penance..."⁴⁰

The fourteenth-century poet and composer, Guillaume de Machaut (c. 1300–1377), wrote about the flagellants in his narrative poem, *The Judgment of the King of Navarre* (after 1349).⁴¹ He presents the most personalized account of contemporary events: the Jews' poisoning of wells and their subsequent massacre, bad omens in nature, and wars. This provides a context for analyzing the Glazier Peacock's marginalia:

En ce temps vint une maisnie / De par leur dame Ypocrisie / Qui de courgies se batoient / Et andens se crucefioient, / En chantant de la lopinelle / Ne say quelle chanson nouvelle, / Et valaient miex, par leurs dis, / Que sains qui soit en paradis. / Mais l'Eglise les entendit / Qui le battre leur deffendi, / Et si comdempna leur chanson / Que chantoient li enfançon, / Et tous les escommenia / Dour pooir que Diex donné li a, / Pour itant que leur baterie / Et leur chans estoit herisie. (*Guillaume de Machaut, The Judgment of the King of Navarre*, ll. 241–256)⁴²

At this time a company arose at the urging of Hypocrisy, their lady, who beat themselves with whips, and crucified themselves flat on the ground, while

Revue d'Alsace (1837), pp. 108–114. Also see the Alexis-Paulin Paris, ed., *Chronique de St. Denis* (Paris, 1836–1840) vol. V, p. 492; and Jean Froissart, *Chronicles*, trans. and ed. Geoffrey Brereton (London, 1978), p. 330. On the whip in general, see Niklaus Largier, *In Praise of the Whip: A Cultural History of Arousal*, trans., Graham Harman (Brooklyn, 2007; Munich, 2001).

³⁸ Kieckhefer, "Radical Tendencies," pp. 157–176, 160–166.

³⁹ Froissart, *Chronicles*, p. 111.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 112.

⁴¹ See Lawrence Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research* (New York, 1995), pp. 209–211.

⁴² Guillaume de Machaut, *The Judgment of the King of Navarre*, trans. and ed. R. Barton Palmer (New York, 1988), pp. 12–13.

singing to an instrument [*de la lopinelle*] some new song or other, and according to them, they were worth more than any saint in Paradise. But the church attended to them, forbidding them to beat themselves, and likewise condemned their song and excommunicated all of them by the power God had granted it, because their self-abuse and their song were heresy.

Contemporary images of the flagellants also contribute to an understanding of period reception. In an illuminated manuscript of the *Chronicles* of abbot Gilles li Muisit, there are men with tall conical hats that have turned up rims and are marked with a cross (fig. 44). They are wearing only britches.⁴³ The contemporary Strasbourg chronicler Fritsche Closener (c. 1315–c. 1373) describes men wearing hats with a red cross and stripped down to a white cloth, worn from waist to ankles, for their public scourging and confession.⁴⁴

The red cross was also worn by the Templars. The Templar/flagellant iconographic conflation is a conceit which emphasizes heresy. References to the flagellant movement are clear in the inclusion of scourges (also referred to as *flagella*) and the red cross on a hat. The disapproving, parodical depiction of the flagellants in the Glazier Peacock strongly suggests that they date from around 1350, when the flagellants were condemned both by local authorities and the church. At this time, hangers-on in the movement were seen as idlers preying on the hospitality of believers. Important for establishing a *post quem* of 1349 for the Glazier Peacock, “In Strasburg, Cologne and the Low Countries the movement arrived only *after* the onset of the plague.”⁴⁵

In the Glazier Peacock, these heretical figures are always presented as evil. On fol. 67, a Templar rests his hand on a monk’s head and raises his sword to decapitate him (fig. 100). Could this reflect the Templars’ conflict with the church? On fol. 70, a Templar/flagellant, his back covered with drops of blood, kisses the arse of a tonsured figure. A scourge lies between them (fig. 94). This makes a striking comparison with the image on fol. 95 where a kneeling Templar/flagellant is dramatically ridding himself of his scourge (fig. 101).

As an instrument of self-inflicted corporeal chastisement used by the clergy, the religious and – quite specifically in 1348–49 – the laity, the scourge was intended to keep disorderly passions, equated with flesh and

⁴³ BR, ms. 13076–7, fol. 16v, *Annales* of Gilles le Muisit, Tournai, c. 1352. The most complete reference source for a bibliography and entry on Gilles le Muisit is DLF, pp. 540–542.

⁴⁴ Fritsche Closener, *Chroniken der deutschen Städte*, vol. VIII, p. 105.

⁴⁵ Kieckhefer, “Radical Tendencies,” pp. 157–176, 175.



Fig. 100. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 67, det., A Templar/flagellant prepares to decapitate a monk (photo with permission: PML).

the body, beaten into submission to the rational spiritual realm. Therefore, the image in which the scourge is cast away can be interpreted as portraying an inversion of the heavenly-ordained way of life, one where the passions rule. The images on fols. 70v and 140v present a contrasting scene (figs. 102, 103). Here, kneeling figures scourge themselves. The bloodied back of the nude torso of the flagellant on fol. 140v, as well as the knotted strands on the scourge, demonstrate both the artist's attention to detail – whether realistic or not – and to a heightened state of mockery and shock for the (first-time) viewer.



Fig. 101. PML MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 95, det., A Templar/flagellant rids himself of his scourge (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 102. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 70v, det., A donkey, dressed as a Templar/flagellant scourges himself (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 103. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 140v, det., A scoop-mouth beast, dressed as a Templar/flagellant scourges himself (photo with permission: PML).

Importantly, the flagellants on folios 70 and 140v have contorted animal heads. The latter has a fox-like head with a scoop mouth. This literally portrays the Templars as Philippe le Bel described them in his order for their arrest, “[The sin of the Templars], compared to the actions of an unreasoning animal, transcends even this by its stupendous bestiality.”⁴⁶

Rather than before-and-after counterparts in a temporally-related sequence, these truncated narratives act as ‘emblems’ which focus on the action found repellent and worthy of parody. In light of the complexity of the Templar/flagellant overlap, the images may relate to one or both. In relation to the flagellants, they depict the rites of the movement. For Templars, the bestial marginal counterparts mockingly perform the meritorious action which in theory would have protected the human Templars from sinning. As a statement against heresy in general, these beasts are scourging themselves to no avail.

These images of heretics acted as a catalyst for the production of, or may be read meaningfully in relation to, the other scatological images. In this light, the latter are variations on a theme which play in particular on the unexpected connections between bodily ‘opposites’, mouth and arse. The arse appears in a hybrid’s mouth on fol. 44v (fig. 76); replaces a face, fashionably wrapped up in a capuchon and liripipe on fol. 81v (fig. 104); serves as a mouth to play the trumpet on fol. 1, and the bagpipes on fol. 18v (figs. 78, 79); and emerges backwards from a seashell or is trapped in it with his arse visible on fol. 139v (fig. 105).⁴⁷

Two images of arses relate directly to the theme of religion. A disembodied arse draped in britches is the object of an ape’s worship on fol. 54 (fig. 77). On fol. 17, a contortionist bares his arse to create a make-shift altar for a wolf-like creature dressed in a priest’s chasuble (fig. 88).

⁴⁶ Georges Lizerand, ed. and trans., *Le Dossier de l’Affaire des Templiers* (Boulogne, 1999; reprint of 1923), p. 2.

⁴⁷ See the Index of Marginalia for complete lists of this subject matter. This last image may illustrate a proverb which incorporates the phrase ‘ass backward’.



Fig. 104. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 81, det., A disembodied arse in britches (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 105. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 139v, det., A man, arse exposed, enters or is trapped in a shell (photo with permission: PML).

CHAPTER SEVEN

THE GLAZIER PEACOCK: CONCLUSION

*...we cannot think of the miniature as buttressing the illusion of narrative flow as historical continuity by serving to illustrate visually sequential orthodoxies. If anything...the visual image unpacks the discontinuities of the narrative.*¹

Although Stephan Nichols is commenting on the text-miniature rapport, his idea is even more applicable to the image-text-marginalia dynamic. In the Glazier Peacock an ensemble of marginalia can be established based on formal visual and thematic similarities: repetition of and variations on multiple motifs. The visual message of the ensemble is different than that of its constituent parts.² The presentation mode of the marginalia does not rely on chronological narrative to create meaning. This 'message' is decidedly not 'read' like the words of a text, nor was it consciously presented as one by the artists.³ For this reason, the non-programmatic, non-narrative presentation mode of the marginalia acquires deeper meaning as they visually accumulate in the reader's mind.

The *lack* of sequentiality has an order of its own, even if it wells up in the form of arrhythmic, staccato pictorial outbursts.⁴ Much can be learned by studying the various genres of contemporary literature, especially from the reception of *farces*. Halina Lewicka writes that:

L'illusion du réel [dans les farces] était corroborée par la langue des personnages...[qui] fait par excellence l'impression d'être du 'parlé'. Ses phrases

¹ Stephen G. Nichols, "The Image as Textual Unconscious: Medieval Manuscripts," *L'Esprit Créateur* vol. XXIX, No. 1 (Spring, 1989), pp. 7–23; pp. 12–13. I thank Jeffrey Hamburger for introducing me to this this article.

² See Roland Barthes, *Image, Music, Text*, trans. Stephen Heath (London, 1977), 'Introduction to the Structural Analysis of Narratives', pp. 79–124, esp. pp. 82–85, 'Beyond the Sentence,' and pp. 88–91, 'The Determination of the Units'; idem, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. Éric Marty (Paris, 1993–1995) vol. 2, p. 451. For related work in the exploration of narrative reconfiguration in medieval art see Cynthia Hahn, *Portrayed on the Heart: Narrative Effect in Pictorial Lives of the Saints from the Tenth through the Thirteenth Century* (Berkeley, 2001).

³ See, for example, Vitz, *Medieval Narrative and Modern Narratology*, who, p. 6, questions "the very use of the grammatical, or syntactical, model as used as a metaphor and guide for our comprehension of narrative structures."

⁴ Halina Lewicka, "La farce médiévale était-elle un genre populaire?" *Travaux de linguistique et de littérature* 16, no. 1 (1978), pp. 335–341, p. 340.

brèves, elliptiques ou inachevées, les interjections – jurons et serments – les dictons et les proverbes dont elle est parsemée lui donnent une allure spontanée. Enfin, les plaisanteries grivoises ou scatologiques, destinées surtout à *déclencher un rire automatique*, achevaient à parfaire l'illusion de conversation prises sur le vif.⁵

The power of the marginalia to entertain derives from this very mode of delivery which is impossible to predict from one page to the next and uneven in content: here a pithy, pregnant aphorism, familiar to even the most common peasant; there a searing, bitch-slap commentary on social mores designed to make even the most refined maiden laugh; and these interspersed with the beauty of the recognizable animal kingdom and the fantastic taxonomy of the hybrid world. By unabashedly committing the scatological subjects to the page in whorls and washes of tinted inks, the grotesque is sanitized, providing amusement without the dangers of embarrassment or foul odors.

There is a 'moral' based on the comparison of the Templars and Alexander the Great. Rearranged with an accent on scatology, visual and textual proverbs create a distinct warning against the gullibility of the sinner who falls prey to the devil's lures. As Nancy Regalado has pointed out, "the moral and political overtones are created in the viewer's mind. It is there that the meaning is produced, not on the page (which provides cues and signals that trigger and direct associations)."⁶

What we term 'marginalia' permeated secular and sacred art in all media, covering every surface, whether manuscripts or cathedrals, in France, Flanders, and beyond. Costly, inventive, and fashionable, marginalia were part of the very tissue of the daily life of the upper classes, coming into contact with all parts of the body. They were worn, sat on, touched, drunk from and eaten with. There are examples on: textiles ranging from embroidered purses and altar frontals to fine clothing; accoutrements and precious objects as varied as jewelry, ivory mirror backs, pilgrim badges, wooden and leather containers and caskets; painted, sculpted, and kiln-fired decoration such as stained glass windows, floor tiles, furniture and ceiling panels; all manner of items necessary for entertaining from eating utensils and table fountains to the entertainers' musical instruments.⁷

⁵ Halina Lewicka, *Études sur l'ancienne farce française* (Paris, 1974), p. 25; emphases are mine.

⁶ Private communication.

⁷ Nicola Coldstream, *The Decorated Style: Architecture and Ornament 1240–1360* (London, 1994).

This panorama defines the sheer breadth of the environment within which marginalia should be situated.

Seen in this light, the reader came *expecting* marginalia in manuscripts rather than expecting them to *signify*. Thus, above and beyond the purely decorative aspect of the marginalia, it was the sudden pleasure arising from the interactive dialogue between image-text-marginalia, created by looking or reading, that delighted the viewer. The act of reading the Glazier Peacock forever altered the reception of the contents by personalizing the experience. The totality of the marginalia may take on meaning in relation to the text and explicitly in relation to the life of the specific reader. They create a 'festival frame' for the rich, built on the humorous performances of the fool who in turn mimics the lower classes. The rule for reception here is two-fold: the more innocent, virginal or naïve the receptor is to coarse material, the greater the effect of the shock or amusement; conversely, the more one is exposed to material of this nature, the more essential a part of entertainment it becomes, melting into the background or necessitating ever more ribald content.⁸

In the Glazier Peacock, the transgressive sexual act of the Templar/flagellant heretics, violence against Nature, takes on potency in opposition to the socially acceptable themes of heterosexual dalliance and chivalric idealism which pervade the Peacock Cycle texts. As I have demonstrated, however, the difference in content between the marginalia and the texts and miniatures is not rigidly dualistic: there are overlaps – eroticism and festivities – and in this way, the one is an extension, continuation, and completion of the other two.⁹ Whereas the miniatures structure the flow of the textual narrative, highlighting or expanding on specific moments,

⁸ See Georges Bataille, *L'Érotisme*, (Paris, 1957). Bataille remarks on the transgressive function of obscenity within the boundary of sexual activity, one contingent, however, on the 'honesty' of the participants; in much the same way, in the case of traffick with prostitutes, the latter's obscene conduct and language can have a powerful effect on the 'pure'. In his *Oeuvres complètes*, vol. 10 (Paris, 1987), Bataille, p. 138, writes that "Le langage ordurier exprime la haine. Mais il donne aux amants dans le monde honnête un sentiment voisin de celui qu'autrefois donnèrent la transgression, puis la profanation"; and, p. 239, "L'obscénité des conduites et du langage des prostituées est fade pour ceux qui en font leur vie quotidienne. Elle offre au contraire à ceux qui restent purs la possibilité d'un dénivellement vertigineux."

⁹ This consideration should temper analysis of the difference in style and execution between the miniatures and marginalia: opaque layers versus the transparent washes over pen lines of the *portrait à l'encre*. Though this difference creates a financial hierarchy within which the former were more carefully executed in a more time-consuming, expensive technique, the latter were nevertheless a costly addition, especially given their high numbers and oftentimes fine quality.

the respectively haphazard placement of the marginalia demands an entirely different environment for satisfactory reception. The marginalia invite distraction from text and miniature by literally making a 'spectacle' of themselves, with or without adding meaning to the reading. They also cue the viewer to re-enact 'festivities' or mentally create new ones. In so doing, however, in the Glazier Peacock, they also reveal the countercurrents and underbelly of period culture: full-blown fantasy, effervescent scatological laughter, idealized refinement, and darkly oppressive politics. They simultaneously deface and enhance, constituting an event, that of 'being seen'.

The Glazier Peacock is unique in many respects – as a work of literature, a work of art, and a visual document of historical events. Although it is one of the many illuminated Peacock manuscripts that has survived, it stands out among them due to the high quality of the miniatures and the dense concentration of scurrilous marginalia and number of marginalia in general. Though we do not know the patron or owner, the sheer amount of decorative elements and the gilded backgrounds in the miniatures point to a wealthy patron. The marginalia were not necessary; including them increased the amount of work and, therefore, raised the cost and value of the product. Even without them, the finesse with which the miniatures were conceived and executed certainly played a large role in the monetary value of the Glazier Peacock.

After investigating the 'function' of marginalia in a single manuscript, I went on to ground my analysis in a firm knowledge of the Peacock manuscripts as a whole. Appendices 4 and 5, which target proverbs and obscenae demonstrate unequivocally that the Glazier Peacock's set of marginalia is unique, with no peer in the first half of the fourteenth century in France or Flanders. Although *elements* of the marginalia can be found in other manuscripts, a catalogue of marginalia as discrete iconographic units amounts to nothing but single pieces of a massive, complex puzzle. Although researchers necessarily hone in on iconography, this formalist approach must serve as a spur to conduct ever bolder investigations of marginalia in single manuscripts. Happily, polysemy permitted the medieval audience of the Glazier Peacock's marginalia to see them as a never-ending series of permutations, a set of whole(s).

Then who, in the end, is responsible for the content of this group of marginalia? I believe that the artists themselves, despite the likelihood of working under a central figure who orchestrated the entire project, had an important amount of 'freedom' to compose the marginalia. I can hardly imagine, however, a chef d'atelier dictating the designs of the many

hybrids amongst the marginalia. They are so artfully conceived and executed in a bewildering set of variations on a theme (as with the 'scoop-mouths'). This mysterious figure may, on the other hand, have given directions for adding the 'heretical figures': here, the Templars and flagellants. This interpretation, in tandem with my findings in the body of all illuminated Peacock manuscripts, underlines the fact that the Peacock and Scat masters rarely used pre-existing iconographic moduli. More importantly, they introduced new images, as is markedly the case with the Templar/ flagellants. Well aware of the comedic reception the *obscenae* would elicit, the artists must have chuckled silently while creating them. To conclude, we must understand that these diminutive monstrosities are grandiose performers. They oftentimes demand more attention than the texts they surround, and provoke more laughter and mischief than they should.

CHAPTER EIGHT

'PEACOCK CYCLE' MANUSCRIPTS: A CONCORDANCE OF MINIATURES

LES VOEUX DU PAON

Laisse. Lines Comprising Laisse

line (Casey)/*line* (Ritchie)

Siglum¹: *rubric*, subject, subject of bas-de-page vignette, *marginal notations*: folio

PART I

Laisse 1. 1–15

1/ 1

M: Alexander, before tents, speaks with Cassamus: 136

N: Alexander, accompanied by a group of knights on horseback, encounters Cassamus: 119

N1: *Cest li livres des veus du pavon et des acomplissemens coment chascuns voua et acompli*: 1

N2: *Ci commencent les veus dou paon et les acomplissse/mens et le mariage des puceles et le restor dou paon* (above 11-line space for miniature): 2

N3: Two knights speak in one tent, two men in another, outside Alexander speaks to Cassamus: 1

N4: Three tents with, from left: a group of sitting knights; a group of men speak; Alexander and a group of men emerge to meet Cassamus (a cruder version of N3S3): 1

N6: *Ci commencent li veu du paon et tout li acomplissement et li mariage*: Alexander, before tents, on horseback with another man, speaks to Cassamus: 1

P: Historiated initial with Alexander on horseback; *Comment Alexandre avoit fere² le royngc Candase la quelle elle amoit paramours, et elle le luy de coire entere verement*: 110

¹ Manuscripts are listed by siglum in alphabetical order.

² James writes: read: *alloit quere*.

- P1: Alexander and his men, at left, meet another army on horseback before city gates: 1
- P2: A scene divided by a river with a bridge: to the left a castle before which are two knights and tents and from which Alexander departs on horseback and speaks to Cassamus, also mounted, who is on the other side of the river; behind him is a woman in a castle: 33
- P5: Lost miniature?: 1
- P7: Lost miniature?: 1
- Q: *Ci fine Dauris et Floridas et parole comment Alixandres encontra Cassamus du Larris le frere Gadifer du Larris*: Alexander and his knights on horseback encounter Cassamus: 107v
- Q1: Alexander and his knights on horseback encounter Cassamus: 1
- S: Alexander and Queen Candasse, seated, speak: 96
- S1: *Ci commencent les veus du paon et li acomplissement et le mariage des pucelles et le restor et le pris*; note in bas-de-page; *Coment Alixandre separi Dedefur et contre a Cassamus...de...*; Alexander and his knights on horseback encounter Cassamus: 1
- S2: Lost miniature?: 1
- S3: Two knights speak in one tent, two men in another, outside Alexander speaks to Cassamus: 1 (identical to N3, fol. 1)
- S4: *Ces sont les veaux de paon dont la ma/tire est darmes et damo[ur]s*: Alexander and three men on horseback: 1.
- S6: miniature removed
- S8: Alexander, on horseback and accompanied by a man, receives/hands a key? (in silver) from/to a man standing before a city
- S9: Alexander, with seven men, meets Cassamus, approaching from right: 1
- S10: Two knights speak in one tent, two men in another, outside Alexander speaks to Cassamus: 1 (close to N34S3)
- U: *Ci commencent les veus du paon et la complissement et le mariage des pucelles*; Alexander, on horseback with three men, meets Cassamus: 60v
- W: No miniature; six-line painted initial with rabbit, lion, and dragon: 26

Laisse 5. vv. 61–84

61/61

Pr: Alexander speaks with Cassamus of the death of Gadifer: 1v

Laisse 7. 146–182

150/150

W: Alexander speaks with Cassamus: 28v

Laisse 8. 183–230

183/180

P8/A: *Ansi comme Cassamus et Emenidus s'accorderent de la mort Gadifer
par devant lou roi Alixandre: 4*

195/192

P1: Alexander speaks with Emenidus and Cassamus: 2v

212/209

W: Alexander speaks to Cassamus and three men : 29v

Laisse 9. 231–275

231/228

P8/A: *Ansi comme Cassamus osta sa chape et prist robe de chevalier: 5v
270/266*

P1: Cassamus and two men in a tent in the woods: 3v

Laisse 10. 276–324

276/ 272

W: Two men pitch/take down tents : 31

Laisse 11. 325–372

325/319

W: Knight mounts horse to follow Alexander and group on horseback:
32

P8/A: *Comment Cassamus³ alai ai un temple de Mars proier: 8*

335/329

S8: Alexander kneels before the altar in prayer, a deity appears above, four
swords in the frame: 6

347/340 this begins a laisse in P8/A

P8/A: Alexander and Cassamus praying in the temple of Mars; two men
pointing: 9

355/348

P1: Alexander sleeping: 4

Laisse 12. 373–410

373/366

W: Cassamus departs in boat, knight on horseback to left, rocks to right: 33
377/370 this begins a laisse in P8/A

³ Read: Alexander.

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus ce departi dou roi*: 10

394/386

W: Cassamus and his men arrive at Ephésou: 33v

408/400

P1: Cassamus speaks to a group of men and women: 4v

Laisse 13. 411–448

411/403

P8/A: *Ansi come Cassamus entra on navoi*: 11

P: *Comment alexandre envia cassamus et gadifer et trouva beteis*; man speaks to three women; in the bas-de-page one couple plays chess, another a different type of board game: 112

Laisse 14. 449–509

449/440

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus entra en Ephésou et trova ces nevous*: 12

P1: Cassamus with his nephews: 5

503/495

P1: Two men and a woman speak: 5v

Laisse 15. 510–537

510/502

P8/A: Left, a tent and a dead warrior; right, a horseman kills standing knight with lance: 14

P: *Comment Gadifer et ses compagnons alerent encountre Clarrus*; in the bas-de-page two sets of knights joust: 113

Laisse 16. 538–570

538/528

P8/A: *C'est comment Cassamus et si nevou s'armerent* (on 14v): 15

N2: *Coment Fezonas et edeus armerent cassamus no miniature*: 11

W: Édéa and Fésonas arm Gadifer: 36

543/533

P1: Édéa and knight embrace; behind are knights on horseback: 6

Laisse 17. 571–583

571/560

P8/A: Clarus, seated, receives a servant with arms: 16

Laisse 18. 584–613

584/570

P8/A: Clarus leaves camp armed on horseback with a servant: 16v

P: *Comment Clarrus vint encountre les gens alexandre pour combatre;*
battle scene: 113v

594/579

P1: Clarus, on horseback, speaks to man walking in front of horse: 6v

Laisse 19. 614–648

614/600

W: Two armies meet over the body of a fallen knight: 37v

638/623

P1: Two knights are unhorsed: 7

Laisse 20. 649–687

649/634

P8/A: *Ansi comme Cassamus⁴ et Gadifer s'abatirent des chevalz (on 18):*
18v

Laisse 21. 688–713

688/669

P8/A: *Ansi come Bétis ocit lou grant Yndoïs ou pougneis:* 19v

Q: *Cest la bataille ou li Baudrains fu pris:* at left, knights fight on horse-
back, at right, the Baudrain is led to the city: 111v

S1: *Mêlée*, tents to left: 10

S8: Two knights joust before a tent: 11v

W: Two armies meet in battle: 39

694/675

P1: Knight with a broken lance unhorses another knight: 7v

Laisse 22. 714–753

714/695

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus envia le cheval ai Édéa s'amie:* 20v

736/716

P1: Knight with broken lance and unhorsed knight dead on ground: 8

744/723

W: The Baudrain leads horse to the castle where he is met by a
woman: 40

⁴ Read: Clarus.

Laisse 23. 754–789

754/733

P: *Comment Gadifer et Beteis se combatoyent encountre les gen Clarus:* 114v
786/763

P1: Knight rides towards group of knights: 8v

Laisse 24. 790–801

790/767

P8/A: *Commant Cassamus racontoit a Bétis lor grant lignage:* 22v

W: Cassamus speaks to Bétis: 41

Laisse 25. 802–848

834/806

P1: Two knights joust: 9

Laisse 26. 849–865

849/821

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus et Bétis alont adier Gadifer en la bataille (on 24):*
24v

W: Two armies meet in battle: 42

Laisse 27. 866–902

866/837

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus retourna ces gens vers les lices de la*
citei: 25

885/858

P1: Knight with broken lance unhorses knight: 9v

Laisse 28. 903–931

903/876

P8/A: *Ensi con Gadifer ce feri en l'ost des Yndoiz toz souz maugré son oncle*
Cassamus: 26

918/891

W: Two knights joust: 43v

Laisse 29. 932–973

932/895

P8/A: *Ansi com Gadifer revint a Cassamus son oncle de l'ost des*
Yndiens: 27

944/913

P1: Two knights fight with lance: 10

Laisse 30. 974–1001

974/944

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus et Clarvus ce combatoent et lutoent a bras* (on 28): 28v

Laisse 31. 1002–1029

1002/974

W: Knights on horseback on bank of river: 45

1008/980

P1: Group of knights rides toward group of knights with penants: 10v

Laisse 32. 1030–1048

1030/1001

P8/A: *Ansi com li assaus fui devant les lices d'Ephéson*: 30

1037/1007

W: Two armies of archers meet: 46

Laisse 33. 1049–1085

1061/1031

P1: Two men on horseback speak: 11

Laisse 34. 1086–1174

1086/1056

W: Army lays seige to a castle: 47

1119/1087

P1: Two knights on horseback speak: 11v

1164/1131

W: Alexander and mounted army, on bank of river, approach rocks: 48v

1168/1135

P1: Alexander and trumpeters meet mounted knight : 12

Laisse 35. 1175–1212

1175/1142

P8/A: *Ansi con li rois Alixandre descendi sor la roche de l'iaue dou Pharon et Perdicas li amena veoir le cheval Cassamus qu'il avoit laisei pasturant quant il passai en Ephéson*: 34

N6: *Coument Alixandres va a Efezon li et sa gent et coment il firent avaler lor chevaux a cordes aval la roch dou Faron et coment Alixandres moustra l'ost Clarvus l'indois a sa gent et coument il furent mervillans*

*dou pueples ynde que Clarvus avoit amene d'Ynde la Grant pourche
qu'il voloit avoit une des pucelles d'Efezon et elles n'en avoient cure
pource qu'ils estoit trop viels (space for miniature?): 20*

1176/1143

P: *Comment Alixandre descende sole la roche de leu de Pharon et ala garde
le ost de Clarrus*; two armies meet: 117

1178/1146

W: Alexander walks out of castle down stairs, on riverbank, meets three
men in tents: 49

Laisse 36. 1213–1254

1213/1176

P8/A: Battle scene at the gate of a city: 35

1231/1193

P1: Two knights on horseback fight with lances: 12v

Laisse 37. 1255–1313

1255/1215

P8/A: *Ansi com Gadifer abati Clar⁵ de cop de lance, lui et son cheval,
devant l'ost lou roi Alixandre*: 36v

P: *Comment Mascenis nefeu Clarus iusta avec le prus Gadifer grauntment*:
117v

1278/1238

W: Gadifer attacks Clarus' troops; Marcien has fallen: 50v

1285/1245

P1: Alexander watches as Marcien is unhorsed: 13

Laisse 38. 1314–1353

1314/1273

W: Mêlée: 51v

1345/1302

P1: Two knight fight with swords on foot: 13v

Laisse 39. 1354–1428

1354/1310

P8/A: *Ansi com Alixandre et les damoizeles d'Ephésou louoent lou Baudrein
et Marcien qui se combatoent a pié contre les gens Cassamus*: 39

⁵ Read Marcien.

N2: *Comen Gadifer vienes abati marcien/ le neveu Clarvus de cop de lance don Alexandre ot grant ioie*: no miniature: 24

1388/1342

P1: The Baudrain and Marcien fight before Ephésion: 14

1390/1343

W: The armies battle before Ephésion: 53

Laisse 40. 1429–1459

1449/1394bis

P1: The two armies meet: 14v

Laisse 41. 1460–1496

1460/1403

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus vint a force deffendre la porte d'Ephésion et fuit pris li Baudrains a force, ou il avoit ja coupé lou flael de la porte de la citei*: 42

W: Mêlée where the Baudrain is unhorsed: 54

Laisse 42. 1497–1512

1497/1410

P1: Army enters a city: 15

P8/A: *Ansi com on desarмонт lou Baudrein dedens le chaistel et li vestit on cote et mantel de fine soe* (on 43): 43v

1512/1454

W: Five men, the Baudrain in armor, stand outside: 55

Laisse 43. 1513–1527

1513/1455

P8/A: *Ansi com on aportai au Baudrein lou chapel de salemandre et li lou mist en sa teste*; at left, Cassamus crowns the Baudrain; at right, a messenger with winged headgear speaks to two women⁶: 44

P: *Comment le Bauderen fuit pris et menée a chastel parfors* (large miniature): 119

Laisse 44.

1528–1583

⁶ The second scene belongs with the rubric on 44v; the action of which occurs at verse 1497.

1528/1469

P8/A: *Ansi com un valles vint en la chambre les damoizeles et lor dit que Cassamus lor ameneve le Baudrain: 44v*

1550/1489

P1: Two men and a woman talk: 15v

Laisse 45. 1584–1603

1584/1519

P8/A: *Ansi com Phesonas et ces ii compaignes festierent Cassamus et Bétis son neveu et Baudrain le prisounier (on 46): 46v*

P: *Commen leys baudrains fuit amenis en chambre pour avoir de inte⁷ de dames: Three couples talk: 119v*

P7: *Comment que Bétis fu coronés de Fésonas: 4*

S9: Cassamus, the Baudrain, Édéas, and Fésonas embrace under trees: 28

W: Three couples talk and embrace: 56v

1599bis/1534

P1: Two couples, seated, talk: 16

Laisse 47. 1633–1667

1633/1567

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus pria Édéa qu'ele retenit a amin le Baudrein (on 47v): 48*

N2: *Coment le Baudrain est avex les iii puceles/ et Cassamus dou Laurris et Bétis et ioient au roy qui/ ne ment. Et comme Cassamus monstre a Cassiel/ le Baudain par une festre Alixandre le roy et/ son ost qui sont sus la roiche du Far (no miniature): 28v*

1652/1586

P1: Two men and a woman talk: 16v

Laisse 48. 1668–1711

1668/1604

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus ce departi de iii damoizeles et lor laisai le Baudrein en garde: 49*

P: *Comment Banderen amea Edeus paramours et elle luy aussi: Three couples including Cassamus, who stands and gestures; in the bas-de-page three women sit on the left; a couple sits on the right: 120*

Q: *Cest li ieus du roy qui ne ment: two men, three women seated; first woman crowns man; a servant offers drink: 118*

⁷ James suggests: *deduit/delit*.

S1: *Ci devise comment Bétis fu couronnés de iour de festus et fu esleus au roy qui ne ment de Édéas*: 24

1684

S8: Bétis? speaks to a woman: 26v

1703/1640

P1: The crowning of Bétis: 17

Laisse 49. 1712–1799

1712/1649

P8/A: *Ansi com Bétis fu couronneis au roi qui ne ment et qu'il faisoit ces demandes au iii puceles et au Baudrein le prisounier* (on 50): 50v

W: Édéa speaks to seated group: 59

1715/1652

P: *Comment l'amoure fuit assente parenter Bauderen et Édéa*; two couples talk: 120v

1755/1691

P1: couple embraces: 17v

Laisse 50. 1800–1831

1800/1735

P8/A: *Ansi com li Baudrens fit sa demande au roi qui ne ment* (on 52v): 53

P: *Comment fesona demanda roy alexandre vu demanda amourys*; three women and two men, seated, talk; in the bas-de-page two sets of knights joust: 121

1804/1740

P1: A seated group speaks to Bétis: 18

Laisse 51. 1832–1860

1853/1788

P1: Bétis speaks to standing group: 18v

Laisse 52. 1861–1887

1861/1796

P8/A: *La demande dame Phesonas au roi qui ne ment*: 54v

N2: *Ci endroit raconte commnt la belle Fezonas/ demande au roy qui ne ment les quels ii cho/ses li font plus de bien a aimer et il li respont/ que c'est espoir et souvenir*: no miniature: 32

P: *Coment Bauderen descendy devant le tref Clarrus pour parler Alixander*; This rubric is misplaced; three women, two men, with one of the

women standing and talking; in the bas-de-page, at left, a couple play chess, flanked by two peacocks; at right, Alexander? and a woman, seated, speak: 121v

Sg: Bétis and the Baudrain speak to Édéas, Fésonas, and Ydorus: 32v

Laisse 53. 1888–1911

1888/1822

P8/A: *Lou parlement d'Édéa au roi qui ne ment*: 55v

W: Seated men and women converse: 62

1905/1835bis

P1: Édéa speaks: 19

Laisse 54. 1912–1949

1912/1842

P8/A: *La demande Ydorus qui estoit amie au roi qui ne ment* (on 56): 56v

Laisse 55. 1950–1980

1965/1893

P1: The Baudrain leads his horse to Clarus' tent: 19v

Laisse 56. 1981–2006

1981/1908

P8/A: *Comment li Baudreins vint au tre Clarvus quant il furent desarmé, pour voir coment on porreit ravoir le Baudrein* (on 58); Clarvus seated: 58v

P: *Comment Baudrain descendy devant le tref Clarrus dolant et pesseyen*: 122v

Sg: Clarus before his tent, approached by five men leading two horses: 34v

W: Mounted knights, left; at right, the Baudrain, with lance, speaks to Clarus in tent, right: 63v

Laisse 57. 2007–2038

2017/1943

P1: five men embrace: 20

Laisse 58. 2039–2079

2039/1965

P8/A: *Ansi com li iiiii enfant Clarveu revinrent de chassier quant il vinrent de panre lou cerf*: 60

2056/1982

W: Knights armed with lances ride out of a forest chasing cattle and sheep: 65

2071/1997

P1: Clarus' four sons take counsel : 20v

Laisse 59. 2080–2122

2080/2006

P8/A: *Ansi com Porus et Marciens prirent le conseil de delivrer Baudrains* (on 61): 61v

P: *Comment Clarrus parla ou Massian*; historiated initial: two men speak; min.: man with lance (messenger? mentioned in rubric on following folio?: *Comment cassamus parla ou le messeger*, 123v) speaks to armed knight before castle: 123

Laisse 60. 2123–2160

2125/2049

P1: Clarus' four sons take counsel : 21

Laisse 61. 2161–2181

2161/2086

P8/A: *Ansi com li valles oit lou conceil des iii freres qui doivent assallir par-traison la citei* (double image: at left, the brothers take counsel; at right, a boat; the messenger appears in both): 63v

2176/2101

P1: Cassamus converses with the messenger, who carries a staff: 21v

Laisse 62. 2182–2197

2182/2107

P8/A: *Ansi com li espie vint a Cassamus et li contai coment on voloit assalier la cité par traizon*: 64v

S8: The spy kneels before Cassamus: 34

S9: The spy rows across the fish-filled water to Cassamus, who is beneath a tree: 38v

Laisse 63. 2198–2256

2198/2122

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus entra on navoi et Gadifer et ce departi dou garson*; double image: at left, the boat scene; at right, Cassamus and Gadifer in a hilly landscape: 65

W: Cassamus, Gadifer and three companions leave by boat: 67v

2201/2125

P: Cassamus and Gadifer, mounted, approach tents wherein are two chests: 124a

2228/2152

P1: Cassamus and a messenger converse: 22

Laisse 64. 2257–2276

2257/2181

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus et Gadifer trouvent lou roi qui joueve aus eschas ai une Sarrazine* (on 67): 66v

P: Cassamus and Gadifer speak in a tent with Alexander, a messenger? stands outside: 124b

2262/2186

W: Alexander plays chess with a woman under tree, a couple watches: 69

Laisse 65. 2277–2309

2277/2200

P8/A: *Ansi com li rois fist assoir Cassamus delez lui et li demanda noveles de Clarvus et de ces enfans* (on 67): 67v

N2: *Ci endroit raconte coument Cassamus ala a/ Alixandre en la roche dusus le Faron. Et mena/ Gadifer son neveu. Et comme li roys Alixandre/ lour demande dou comme Clarvus et de ses fuils/ et de Fésonas et de tous ceus qui sont en Efeson et il/ li content tout. Et comment li iiiii fuils Clarvus/ devoient faire l'embuschement: no miniature: 39*

S9: Alexander, emerging from a tent with two men, greets Cassamus: 40
2280bis/2205

P1: Cassamus and two men converse with Alexander : 22v

Laisse 66. 2310–2368

2310/2232

P8/A: *Ansi com li rois Alixandre parla a Gadifer et fist la paix d'Emenidon et de lui de la mort de son pere: 68v*

2336/2258

P1: Alexander, Gadifer, Emenidus and another man converse: 23

Laisse 67. 2369–2406

2369/2291

P8/A: *Ansi com un valles ala nuncier Emenidus que Gadifer d'Ephéson estoit venus* (on 70v): 70

2385/2307

P1: Three men converse with Alexander: 23v

Laisse 68. 2407–2436

2407

N2: Five-line space: 41

2434/2356

P1: Alexander converses with Emenidus and Gadifer in a tent, others offer amends outside: 24

Laisse 69. 2437–2463

2437/2359

P8/A: *Ansi com Emenidus et ci xii compangnons vinrent au tre lou roi pour faire l'amende Gadifer*: 72

S8: Emenidus and his followers offer amends to Gadifer: 38

S9: Emenidus and his followers offer amends to Gadifer: 42v

Laisse 70. 2464–2501

2464/2384

P8/A: *Ansi com Gadifer leva Emenidus qui estoit devan li en genous*: 73

P: *Comment emenidus parla a gadiferes*: Emenidus kneels and offers his sword in amends: 125v

P7: *Comment Emenidus offre amend a Gadifer devan le roi Alixandre*: 19v

Q: *Cest la pes de Gadifer le Genne et de Emenidon d'Arcaude*; at left, a group of men with swords; at right, Alexander with Gadifer and Emenidus before a tent: 123

Q1: Emenidus kneels and offers his sword in amends: 39

S1: *Ci devise comment Emenidus vint li douziesme en wrines et tous nus pies et sans chaperon poier l'amende a Gadifer les espées [et porrus?] les poignes desous*: 36

S9: Emenidus and his followers offer amends: 43v

W: At left, Alexander is seated in tent before which are men with raised swords; at right, Emenidus, kneeling, offers his sword to the seated Gadifer: 72v

2484/2404

P1: A group of men offers amends while Gadifer and Emenidus hold a sword together: 24v

Laisse 71. 2502–2533

2502/2422

P8/A: *Ansi com Aristés prioit a Alixandre por tot son servize qui lou laissat aler avec Cassamus qui lou requiroit d'aiue contre Clarvus l'Indois (on 73v)*: 74v

P: *Comment Alixandre prent counseile de ses barons soi et in soun tentes corteissement*: 126

Laisse 73. 2550–2573

2550/2468

P8/A: *Ansi com Alixandre comanda a Caulus qu'il an l'aiue Cassamus et Gadifer* (on 75v): 76

Laisse 75. 2601–2622

2601/2518

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus et Gadifer prirent congie au roi et en monont les v compangnons* (on 77): 77v

Laisse 76. 2623–2643

2623/2540

P1: Alexander sees off Cassamus, Gadifer and their men, embraces one of them: 26

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus et Gadifer et li v compangon entrent ou navoi*: 78

Laisse 77. 2644–2659

2644/2564

P8/A: *Ansi com li bourgeois vinrent encontre Cassamus et Gadifer et les v compangnons et ensi comon le nonsai i vallés au iii puceles et au ii compangnons*: 79

W: Cassamus, Gadifer and their men disembark before a castle: 75v

Laisse 78. 2660–2683

2660/2582

P8/A: *Ansi com les iii damoizeles et li ii vallet alont encontre Cassamus et les v chevaliers grigois*: 79v

2661/2583

P: *Comment le Bauderen et autres chevaleres isserunt de la chambre de Venus*: 127

Laisse 79. 2684–2705

2684/2606

P8/A: *Ansi com li dui chevaler et les iii damoizeles encontront Cassamus et Gadifer et les v compangnons grigois*: 80v

Laisse 80. 2706–2733

2706/2632

W: three seated couples, one embracing: 77

Laisse 81. 2734–2753

2734/2661

P1: three men, two women seated, of which one couple embraces: 27

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus resut lou present de desters que li rois Alixandres envoia a Gadifer et a Bétis*: 82

Laisse 82. 2754–2776

2754/2682

P8/A: *Ansi com les damoizeles et li chevalier grieu seoent desous un pin en un prael ou parloent damors et un valles lor aporte un eschakier* (on 82v): 83

S: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess; bas-de-page notation: *comment?*: 112v

Laisse 83. 2777–2818

2777/2705

P8/A: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess, with an attendant holding a ewer and hanap: 83v

N2: one-line space: 47v

N6: *Ci commence li geus dez esches/ comment li viex Cassamus/ fist apporter l'eschequier/ ou palais Iupiter pour iouer/ et comment Cassiel/ le Baudrain ioua a/ encontre Fezonas la pucelle/ et les biaux mos/ qu'il disoient entr'eus/ et comment Fezonas/ se vanta que elle/ le rendroit mat en l'angle/ pour la quelle chose il y ot/ grant risée des dames et des chevaliers/ qui ouirent le mot.:* no miniature: 46v

p3: large initial; no miniature: unfoliated

P: four-frame miniature: in each a couple is entertained by musicians; 2 of the couples play chess: 127v

P1: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess: 27v

Q: *C'est li ieus des esches*: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess; at left, a woman and two men watch; at right, Cassamus lies on a pillow: 125

Sr: *Ci devise coument Cassiel le Baudrain ious as esches a Phesomie et sont les autres entour* (NB, this is the same rubric in S2, fol. 41): 41v

S8: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess under a tree, with Cassamus at right: 43v

S9: Cassamus and Édéas watch the Baudrain and Fésonas play chess: 49
 W: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess under a tree with a large group of onlookers: 78v

Laisse 84. 2819–2834

2819/2749

p3: large initial; no miniature: unfoliated

P7: *Comment Fésonas jue avec Baudrain et Cassamus le iete d'un cousin:*
 25v

2826/2756

P3: 48v

Laisse 86. 2875–2898

2875/2808

p3: large initial; no miniature: unfoliated

W: The Baudrain and Fésonas play chess with a large group of onlookers:
 80v

Laisse 88. 2913–2942

2913/2853

P1: The chess game of Baudrain and Fésonas is disrupted by Cassamus who throws a pillow, another man watches (NB, this image is only in this manuscript and P7): 28v

Laisse 89. 2943–2963

2943/2883

P8/A: *Ansi com Cassamus demanda le vin apres lou gieu:* 88

P: *Commment Cassamus et autres iouerent a la ches;* this is, however, a scene with two men and three women standing in a row: 128v

Laisse 90. 2964–2981

2964/2907

P8/A: *Ansi com li Baudreins conduit les iii damoizeles en la chambre de Venus et Cassamus et si ii nevou demoront avec les chevaliers grigois ai concel:* 89

Laisse 92. 2994–3036

2994/2940

P8/A: knight mounts steed; knight speaks with damsels: 90

Laisse 93. 3037–3054

3037/2985

P8/A: *Ansi com li iii fil Clarvus misent lor agait ou boix*: 91

Laisse 94. 3055–3110

3055/3002

P8/A: *Ansi com Floridas issi apres les vaches et joust a Porrus* (on 91v): 92
(bound in after fol. 194)

P: large miniature *Comment de la forest de royngne partirent les forriers hastement*: at left, Porrus and Floridas, at right, a castle: 129v

W: Floridas with a group of knights in a forest cuts off a herd of cattle exiting the city gates: 84

3090/3036

P1: The joust of Porrus and Floridas: 30

3096/3042

P7: *Le joust de Porrus et de Floridas*; A group of knights fall from their horses as they encounter a farmer driving cattle and sheep before the castle: a conflation of the Porrus and Floridas’ joust scene with the foiling of the cattle raid: 30v

Laisse 95. 3111–3138

3111/3057

P8/A: *Ansi com Perdicas et Calons trouverent pamei Floridas*: 93v

3112/3058

S9: Porrus rides away from the wounded Floridas: 54v

3138/3083bis

P1: Floridas and his knights chase a herd of cattle: 30v

Laisse 96. 3139–3177

3140/3085

W: Knights on horseback; to right, Aristé dismounts and finds Floridas who lies on a rocky hillside: 85v

3141/3086

P: *Commen Cassamus escria Marcyens amenoit le proie des bestes et luy chacent*; however, the miniature depicts the confrontation of two armies: 130

Laisse 97. 3178–3192

3178/3125

P1: Joust: 31

S8: Mêlée: 50

P7: *Ainsi que le bataille fu devant la cités Fésonas*: 32

Laisse 98. 3193–3245

3193/3135

P: *Comment Florida se combata avec Porrus deveiant les dames*: 130v

W: Mêlée before castle, women watch: 86v

3198/3140

P1: three mounted knights with lances: 31v

P8/A: *La joute de Porum et de Floridas en milie dou poingnis* (on 95v): 96

Laisse 99. 3246–3268

3246/3192

P1: The swordfight of Porrus and Floridas: 32

Laisse 101. 3281–3336

3281/3228

P8/A: Battle scene with, in the center, the swordfight of Porrus and Floridas who are on foot: 98v

3324/3272

P1: The swordfight of Porrus and Floridas: 32v

Laisse 102. 3337–3359

3341/3289

P1: Mêleé: 33

Laisse 103. 3360–3416

3360/3312

P7: *La bataille de ii fil Clarus a Gadir et a Aristé*: 34v

3377/3327b

S2: empty space: twenty lines are left free at the bottom of the folio, and line 3377 is only half finished. As this is the end of the quire (VII written in bas-de-page), and given that the same scribe resumes with line 3377 in full on fol. 35, I am not sure that this was intended to be a space for an image. It occurs at a point in the text only illustrated in P7 where Clarus fights Aristé and Bétis: 34v

Laisse 104. 3417–3437

3417/3366

W: Knights on horseback, carrying pennants, press a herd of cattle into a forest: 90v (This scene is far removed from the text.)

Laisse 105. 3438–3469

3438/3387

P8/A: Porrus and Bétis fight : 102v

3456/3403

P1: Porrus delivers a sword blow to Bétis' head: 34

Laisse 106. 3470–3511

3470/3418

P7: *Comment Bétis fu pris entre les fouriers*: 36

S4: Bétis, on horseback, is surrounded by Clarus' footsoldiers

Laisse 107. 3512–3556

3512/3458

P8/A: Porrus fights off three assailants before the walls of Ephésion: 104v

P: *Chi fu Porrus assaillis du mural et de pierre ou de cranon et du commun*:
132v

S4: A group of men assail Porrus with spears while others kill his horse;
women look on above the gate of Ephésion

S8: Porrus, holding an axe, fights off assailants: 55

W: Porrus is assailed by men with clubs: 92v

Laisse 109. 3573–3622

3573/3516

P8/A: Battle is waged before the walls of Ephésion; three warriors take
Porrus while ladies watch: 106v

3581/3525

P7: *Comment que porrus fu pris*: 37v

Laisse no. 3623–3637

3623/3566

P1: Porrus is taken prisoner: 35v

P: *Chi est Porrus pris qui a soffert grant paine*: 133

Laisse 112. 3649–3679

3649/3591

N2: *Come Porus est pris et l'emame Cassamus/ a la cité d'Efeson come*
prisonier: no miniature 62

S1: Mêlée with, at center, Porrus captured in a swordfight, the castle at
right; note in bas-de-page: *Comment Porrus est prisons poy? l'emains*
dont? arm? ... ichap?: 53v

Laisse 113. 3680–3713

3680/3621

P: *Comment Porrus fuit prisonner et amena desarmes a les dames*; four men and three women, seated: 133v

3684/3625

W: Porrus is led by a group of women into the Chamber of Venus: 95v

Laisse 114. 3714–3752

3714/3655

P8/A: two women receive Porrus and another knight: 110

Laisse 115. 3753–3794

3789/3729

P1: Marcien, mounted and armed, speaks to a standing messenger: 37

S2: *Ci devise comment Cassiel le Baudrain ioue as esches a Phezonne et sont les autres entour*: no miniature: 41v

Laisse 118. 3847–3858

3847/3760

W: At left, a group of mounted knights; at right, Clarus receives Marcien: 98

Laisse 119. 3859–3879

3859/3772

P1: Marcien and two men converse with Clarus: 37v

PART II

Laisse 120. 3880–3910

3880/3812

M: Four-line initial; no miniature: 160

N2: *Ci Endroit commencent li veus*: no miniature: 66

N4: Six-line initial; no miniature: 65v

N6: *Ci comenchent les veus/ dou paon. Coment Porrus/ trast au paon* (on 65v); Porrus shoots the peacock: 66

P2: Condensed narrative set in a castle: Porrus, dressed in a finely patterned blue cote hardy is led on horseback into the castle by a group of knights; in the courtyard of the castle Porrus shoots the peacock as three ladies and a hooded man watch: 111v

- P4: *Si comence le voue de paoune*; Feasting scene in castle with four couples, a lady brings the peacock to the table: 1
- P5: *Che sont li veu du paon fait en le cambre venus*: five-line initial; no miniature: 58
- P6: Eight-line initial; no miniature: 49
- P7: Six-line initial; no miniature: 42v
- Q: *Ci comencent les veus du poon*: Porrus shoots the peacock: he and the servant at left, Fésonas and another woman, at right: 132
- Q1: Porrus shoots the peacock, at left; at right, a group of onlookers are seated at a table: 61v
- S: The siege of Ephéson: 120
- S2: Four-line initial; no miniature: 43
- S6: Space for a miniature
- S8: Two prisoners are led before the city ramparts; a swordfight is partially visible in the background: 61
- S9: Porrus shoots the peacock: 68
- W: Porrus shoots the peacock: 99

Laisse 121. 3911–3957

3911/3841

P8/A: Porrus shoots the peacock, which is perched on an elaborate building with a row of arcaded windows as in [W]; Cassamus and two others approach: 116

N2: *Ci endroit raconte coment Porus/traist au paon et comment Fezonas/ le prent par la main quant il a le/ paon occis. Et li dist sire ie vous pren/ mon domaige faisant. Et Porus s'oblige/ envers li mout humblement*: no miniature: 66v

S1: *Coment les fouriers prisent les vaches et les? lines et comment bestail et furient departis? en ab ... t*: 58v. This is far removed from the text

3935/3866

N1: *Après ce que Porrus ot esté prins/ par force d'armes de Cassamus et de/ la gent d'Ephéson ainsi con vous/ avez oi par ci devant et fu amenés/ ou mestre pales de la cite. Et fu moult/ honnerez de tous/ chaus qui i furent/ et espesialement des damoiseles/ et dou Baudrain son cousin. Adont/ quant il fu desarmés il s'en ala esbatant/ parmi la court et vit un pavon sur/ une chambre et il prinst un art qun valles tenoit/ et trest au pavon et le tua et Phesonas i vint qui moult en fist grant ioie*: no miniature: 66v

3945/3876

M: Porrus shoots the peacock: 160v

P1: Porrus shoots the peacock: 38v

P7: *Ainsi qu porrus traist le paon sour le saile*: 43v

Laisse 122. 3958–3989

3958/3888

S3: Porrus shoots the peacock; at right, the roof upon which the peacock is perched covers a group of seven seated at a feasting table, where Cassamus, at far left, points to the bird being served: 66

Laisse 123. 3990–4017

3990/3921

P8/A: The feast of the peacock accompanied by a harpist: 118

P7: *Chou est li table dou veu dou paon*; The feast of the peacock accompanied by trumpeters: 44

W: The feast of the peacock where, led by a viellist, a woman offers the peacock: 101

Laisse 124. 4018–4035

4018/3948

S2: Ten-line space left for a miniature: 45v

S8: The feast of the peacock: 63v

U: *Ci devise coment les gens qui sieent a table devient au poan que une pucele porte*: 121

Laisse 126. 4055–4075

4055/3965

P1: The feasting scene where the peacock has not yet been served: 39v

Laisse 129. 4133–4164

4133/4056

P1: The feasting scene where the peacock has not yet been served: 40v

Laisse 133. 4248–4311

4282/4193

P1: The feasting scene with the peacock: 41v

Laisse 135. 4348–4380

4365/4274

P1: The feasting scene with the peacock being served: 42v

Laisse 136. 4381–4392

4381/4287

P: *Comment Gadifer fuit vou a la paon que la damoiseil Elios portoit*: The image, however, depicts the content of the rubric on the facing folio: *Comment Lyonés issi a geise de vassail d'Ephison a cheval tout armés*; in the bas-de-page Lyonés is armed for departure: 137v

Laisse 138. 4417–4454

4417/4322

P8/A: The feast, flanked by two trumpeters, where the peacock is served, and, in the center, two women dance: 128v

Q: *Comment li poons fu présentés a plus preus*: The feast, with two couples, with a man presenting the peacock and a viellist playing at right: 135v

W: The feast, where a man serves the peacock, *and two women crown a third, similar to A*: 108

4425/4329

S1: The feast of the peacock with a woman serving the peacock, flanked by two men; note in the bas-de-page: *Coment une damoiselle porte le paon a i table et est adestrée de ii e...?*: 67

4448/4352

P7: *Comment le pris et li paon fu donné a Aristé a la table*: 52

Laisse 139. 4455–4479

4455

N2: *Comment Lyonies se fist armer pour aler acom/ plir son veu qu'il avoit voé de iouster a Canans/ l'ainié fuils Clarvus. Si prent congié a ses compaig/ nons et s'en ala et acompli moult tres bien son veu*: no miniature: 75v

Laisse 140. 4480–4492

4480/4381

P4: A knight is unhorsed in a joust; at left, a man gestures from a castle; at right a man watches from a tent: 10v

W: Lyonés departs, armed and on horseback, from Alexander, seated at left, towards a rocky hill at right: 109

4483/4384

P: Alexander, in a tent, receives a kneeling messenger while men converse outside; this image is mistakenly repeated twice on this folio: 138va

Laisse 141. 4493–4546

4493/4394

P: *Comment Alexandre s'esioie des les avou de paon* (on 139); this image is mistakenly repeated twice on this folio: 138vb

P1: Alexander speaks to four men: 43v

Laisse 142. 4547–4572

4547/4447

P1: Alexander speaks to four men: 44

Laisse 144. 4599–4630

4599/4495

P1: Lyonés, armed and on horseback, meets a messenger: 44v

4602/4498 (verse number represents the line on fol. 139v)

P (in the bas-de-page): Jousting scene : 139

Laisse 145. 4631–4689

4631/4528

P8/A: Lyonés and Canaam joust with, at center, a cloaked, hooded man:
134

P7: *Ainsi que que* [sic] *Liones jousta a Canaan devant le roy Clarus*: 55

4660/4554

W: Lyonés and Canaam joust with women watching from battlements at each side: 112

4661/4555

S8: Lyonés and Canaam joust: 73

4676/4571

P1: Lyonés and Canaam are unhorsed: 45v

Laisse 146. 4690–4720

4690/4575

P: *Comment Lyonés iusta ovec un chivaler et ambedeus sunt chieus*; Lyonés and Canaam both fall; in the bas-de-page the fallen Lyonés is attended by two men, another holds his horse: 139v

W: Lyonés and Canaam both fall: 112v

4713/4597

N1: *Après ce que chascuns des nobles/ princes orent voué au pavon devant/ les damoiseles qui tant avoient/ biauté et noblestés en elles. Adont/ s'emerveillerent moult li uns des/ autres quant chascuns ot descouvert/ son pensé pour la grant emprise qui/ voloient achieveer.*

*Adont se le va Leones/ et demanda ses armes si come vous aves oï/ et
vint iouster a Canaam le fil Clarus: no miniature: 79v*

Laisse 148. 4743–4769

4760/4645

P1: Lyonés, escorted to the castle by a group of men, is met by Fésonas and other women: 46

Laisse 150. 4803–4821

4810/4690

P1: Cassamus and three men in counsel: 46v

Laisse 151. 4822–4833

4822/4701

N6: Three couples seated on a bench (apparently an illustration of what came before rather than in this passage where Cassamus and Marciens speak) : 85

P: *Comment Cassamus parla in conseile a ses conpagnons pour les ostages qui firunt myes*; Cassamus speaks to a man while five others watch; *bas-de-page*, three groups of two men speak before a castle: 140v

Laisse 153. 4862–4875

4862/4740

P1: Cassamus and three men in counsel: 47

Laisse 154. 4876–4910

4876/4753

P: *Comment Marciens fuit amenys en le chambre de Venus pour avoir des-perté des dames*; *bas-de-page*, five men on horseback speak: 141

4886/4761

W: Marcien is led by Lyonés, Caulus and Aristé to see the women in the Chamber of Venus: 116

Laisse 155. 4911–4929

4913/4788

P1: Marcien takes leave of Clarus and Bétis: 47v

Laisse 156. 4930–4993

4963/4836

P1: Marcien reports back to Clarus: 48

Laisse 157. 4994–5030

4994/4865

W: Marcien speaks to Clarus: 118

5015/4886

P1: Marcien with Clarus and two counselors: 48v

Laisse 159. 5051–5062

5051/4920

P8/A: Bétis, at the palace, is greeted by the prince, baron and three ladies:

144v

W: A meeting at the palace of Jupiter and Venus where: at left, stand a group of men and women; and, at right, are found men on horseback: 119

Laisse 160. 5063–5109

5065/4934

P1: Three couples sit in the palace of Jupiter and Venus: 49

Laisse 161. 5110–5134

5111/4979

P: *Comment les amarois chivaler et dames doit departirent*; bas-de-page two couples speak: 142; three men stand before a tent with ornate table: 142v

5127/4992

P1: Two couples, including Porrus and Fésonas, say farewell: 49v

Laisse 163. 5162–5182

5162/5035

W: A group of men, their horses behind them, kneel before Clarus: 121

5174/5045

P1: Porrus and Clarus with two counselors: 50

Laisse 164. 5183–5189

5183/5054

P8/A: *Ansi comme Porus et li Baudreins revinrent de prison et racontoent a Clarvus de l'ost lou roi Alixandre* (on 147v): 148

Laisse 165. 5190–5225

5221/5091

P1: Clarus speaks to Marcien, Porrus and the Baudrain: 50v

Laisse 167. 5252–5269

5252/5121

P8/A: *Ansi comme Clarus ordenai ces baptalles en son trei devant ces barons et devant ces enfans et dena la premiere baptalle a Porrus:*

150

5254/5123

P1: Clarus and another man, in his tent, gesture to two men conversing outside: 51

Laisse 168. 5270–5307

5272/5143

P: *Comment Clarus devisa sa bataille in ses gardes*; bas-de-page four groups of two men speak: 143; King converses with two men in tent, two men converse outside: 143v

Laisse 173. 5379–5401

5379/5247

P: *Comment Clarus conforte a ses hommes devant le bataile*; bas-de-page the king and his men voyage to a castle, on the left, in a boat:

144

5383/5251

P1: Clarus, in a tent, speaks to Marcien and another man: 52

Laisse 174. 5402–5423

5402/5269

Q: *Coment Alexandre vint ou chastel d'Efeson*: Alexander arrives at Ephésion by boat: 141v

W: Alexander with his men in court, at left, points to an army, carrying a standard, at right: 124v

Laisse 177. 5465–5478

5465/5328

P: *Comment Alexandre s'enala a bataille bien armés et rychement*; Alexander and two knights are met by three women at the castle; bas-de-page the journey, begun by boat on fol. 144, continues here on horseback:

144v

W: Alexander departs by boat in battle gear: 125v

5473/5337

P1: Alexander with two knights and two oarsmen in a boat: 53

Laisse 179. 5499–5516

5499/5365

P8/A: *Ansi com li commons d'Ephésou et Cassamus et si nevou aloent
encontre lou roi Alixandre ii ai ii cantant une chanson sarrazinoize de
fais lou roi Alixandree : 156v*

Laisse 181. 5543–5561

5543/5407

W: Alexander, with mounted army, at left, meets the townspeople of
Ephésou, at right: 127

5554/5417

P7: *Comment Fésonas rechust Alixandre avokes les xii peres: 69v*

Laisse 182. 5562–5587

5562/5423

P: *Comment Alexandre parla a ses chivalers et a ses dames doucement;*
Alexander speaks, seated outside, between three women and three
knights: 145

P1: Alexander speaks with two women and a man: 53v

Laisse 183. 5588–5612

5588

N2: *Cidesus a parle comment Alixandre vit/ au Baudrain faire drecier l'es-
tendant Clarvus/ et accrost devala la roche du Far et se vint/ a Efeson
pour faire secours a Fésonas. Et quant/ il fu dela deles ma dame Fésonas
s'asist et fist tendre/ ses armes devant li. Or retourne a ma matiere/ com-
ment li roys Alixandres demande a Cassamus qu'il/ verront volentiers
celui qui li doit s'espée oster. Et/ Cassamus li respont qu'il le verra ains
que la bataille fiere: no miniature: 93*

Laisse 184. 5613–5628

5613/5472

P1: Alexander converses with Cassamus, Caulus and another man: 54

Laisse 186. 5646–5656

5646/5504

P8/A: *Ansi com Alixandre encontre lou Baudrein et Porrus et Marciens
quant il revenoit d'orer dou temple (on 160): 160v*

5650/5508 the verse line is on the following folio: 145v

P: bas-de-page, at left, Alexander plays chess with a man; at right, two
couples, seated, speak: 145v

Laisse 187. 5657–5696

5657/5515

P1: Alexander and Cassamus meet Marcien, Porrus and Baudrain: 54v

W: At left, Alexander and Cassamus stand in a doorway with men and women; at right, Marcien, Porrus and Baudrain arrive on horseback:

129

Laisse 189. 5713–5730

5727/5580

P1: A feasting scene with Alexander: 55

Laisse 190. 5731–5744

5731/5583

W: A feasting scene with Alexander: 130v

5734/5586

P: *Comment Alixandre in le palais Iupiter asoiet a manger noblement*; bas-de-page Alexander speaks with a kneeling man before a building; at right, three men watch and gesture 146; three women and four men sit at a feasting table (including Alexander and Cassamus): 146v

Laisse 194. 5795–5818

5816/5660

P1: Alexander speaks to Emenidus, Marcien and another man: 56

Laisse 196. 5837–5883

5865/5696b

P1: Alexander sits between four men: 56v

Laisse 197. 5884–5919

5884/5731

P: *Comment Porrus counta a Clarus nouveles de Alexandre et son ost* 147v ; Clarus and Porrus in a tent; horses cared for by another knight: 147

Laisse 199. 5945–5964

5947/5793

P1: Alexander and two men look out from the palace of Ephésou: 57

Laisse 200. 5965–6008

5992/5837

P1: Alexander speaks to three men: 57v

Laisse 202. 6038–6055

6038/5883

P8/A: *Ansi con Alixandre ordena ces baptalles devant Cassamus et ces barons et dena a Emenidus la premiere bataille: 170*

6048/5893

P1: Alexander speaks to five men: 58

Laisse 203. 6056–6073

6057/5901

P: *Comment Emenidus parla Alixandre hardiement cum chivaler*; bas-de-page Alexander speaks to a bearded man and four other men, at left, watch and gesture: 148; Alexander speaks to a bearded man; five knights watch: 148v

Laisse 206. 6106–6161

6106/5949

P1: Alexander speaks to Cassamus and Perdicas: 58v

Laisse 207. 6162–6181

6162/6010

N2: *Comment li roys Alixandres ot ordenées/ ses batailles. Et il reproucha son veu a Perdicas/ et Perdicas en fu si iriés qui voa qu'il combatroit/ a pié entres les ii batailles et Bétis le voa aussi/ et pluseurs autres aveuques eus*: five-line rubric in seven-line space with no miniature: 102

P1: Alexander speaks to 5 men: 59

Laisse 210. 6237–6253

6243/6079

P1: Alexander speaks to five men: 60

Laisse 211. 6254–6277

6254/6090

P: *Comment Aleixandre ordena ses batailes a ses gens*; Alexander's army rides to war; bas-de-page seven musicians play buisines, bagpipes and nakkers (see laisse 213, verse 6314/6152 on fol. 150) : 149v

Laisse 212. 6278–6312

6278/6115

P8/A: *Ansi come Alixandre fit tendre sou trei au chans devant ces barons et fit mettre sa banniere fuers ou sa figure estoit formée : 176*

6294/6131

P1: A group of knights depart the castle on horseback bearing a banner upon which is depicted Alexander: 60v

Laisse 213. 6313–6341

6313/6151

N2: *Coment Porus conquist le cheval Emenidus*: no miniature: 105

P4: Porrus takes the fallen Emenidus' horse while, behind, his own another horse heads right; at left, a castle; armies charge from either side: 40

S8: Men (Emenidus and Porrus?) stand in the center, flanked by men on horseback: 98

6340/6176

P: *Comment Emenidus et Porrus se contrerent as ensemble pour acomplere loure avouis*; two knights mount horses; bas-de-page six knights converse: 150

Laisse 214. 6342–6364

6342/6178

P8/A: *Ansi come Emenidus et Porus ce departirent des os et s'abatent de cop de lance et remonta premiers Porus sor lou chevaul Emenidus et laisai lou sien pour son vout complir*: 178

P7: *Comment Porrus accompli son veu ki tolli Amenidon sou cheval*: 80v

Q: *Coment Emenidus pert son cheval*: two unhorsed knights: 147v

6349/6185

P1: Emenidus is unhorsed: 61

Laisse 217. 6409–6434

6413/6249

P1: Fésonas, Édéa, Ydonee and four other women watch from the castle: 61v

Laisse 218. 6435–6459

6452/6278

P7: *Comment Perdicas son veu acompli*; Perdicas slays an Indian : 82v

Laisse 220. 6480–6515

6480/6310

P1: Perdicas unhorses Marcien: 62

Laisse 221. 6516–6540

6522/6350

P1: Caleo decapitates one knight and stabs another: 62v

Laisse 223. 6565–6586

6580/6406

P1: Antigonus kills a knight with a lance: 63

Laisse 225. 6605–6637

6605/6328

P4: Perdicas, on foot, holds the saddle of Clarus, who is aided by Cassamus;
at left, knights issue from a castle: 44v

6626bis/6451

P1: Jousting scene: 63v

Laisse 226. 6638–6663

6638/6462

P: *Comment la graunt batile fuit asemblé et main chivalers occis; Mêle*
with mountless steeds trampling dead bodies in bas-de-page: 152

P7: *Comment Perdicas vint a piet et li rois Clarus se combat a Cassamus a*
piet: 85v

Laisse 227. 6664–6679

6672/6494

P1: Cassamus stops Perdicas from killing Clarus, who lies at his feet: 64
6674/6496

P7: *Comment Cassamus acomplist son veu et aide le roy Clarus: 86*

Laisse 228. 6680–6706

6695/6518

P7: *Comment [Aristé] ochist le roi de Pincernie: 86v*

Laisse 229. 6707–6729

6707/6530

P1: Aristé slays the King of Pincernia: 64v

Laisse 230. 6730–6780

6730/6553

P8/A: *Ansi com li Baudreins toli l'espée lou roi Alixandre ou pougnis:*
187v

P: *Comment le Bauderen so forsa pour tollere le espée de les mains de Alixandre*; bas-de-page the enemy's cart removes the dead and wounded; at right the wounded are ministered to: 152v

P4: Flanked by a castle, at left, and a tent, at right, the Baudrain takes Alexander's sword: 47

Q: *Coment li Badrains tolt Alexandre s'espée*: 150

Q1: The Baudrain takes Alexander's sword: ms. 2166, fol. 1

6744

S8: The Baudrain takes Alexander's sword; women watch from the battlements: 104v

6765/6586

P7: *Comment li Baudraine toli l'espée au roy Alixandre*: 88

Laisse 231. 6781–6814

6781/6602

P8/A: *Ansi com Caulus oste a force lou hyame au Baudrain*: 189

P1: Battle scene: 65

6793/6614

P7: *Comment Caulus achieve son veu et oste le Baudrain son heaume*: 88v

Laisse 232. 6815–6854

6815/6634

P: *Comment Cassians et Caulus se combatirent ensemble*; bas-de-page two groups of two speaking men flank Alexander: 153

Laisse 233. 6855–6885

6855/6672

P8/A: *Ansi come Floridas print lou Baudrein avec l'espée qu'il avoit tolu Alixandre a force ou pognis*: 191

6881/6698

P1: Floridas captures the Baudrain, with Alexander at left: 66

Laisse 234. 6886–6900

6886/6703

P: *Comment le Bauderen fuit prys*; Mêlée; bas-de-page mêlée: 153v

Laisse 236. 6916–6938

6916/6735

P4: Flanked by a castle and a tent Alexander and his knights ride at left; at right, Gadifer, having slain two men, destroys Clarus' standard: 50

6918/6737

P1: Two armies face off, swords raised: 66v

Laisse 238. 6963–6980

6963/6780

P: *Comment graunt occison fu fet sure les cariouurs et autres gens de le countre*; The cart which carries wine and victuals is attacked in a mêlée; bas-de-page mêlée: 154

Laisse 239. 6981–7017

6981/6797

P8/A: *Ansi com Gadifer coupa l'estandart Claveu l'Yndois*: 194v

N2: *Comme Gaudifer cope l'estendar: no miniature*: 115v

S8: Gadifer destroys the standard, a thick wooden pole; the battle rages at right: 109

7002/6812

P1: Gadifer cuts apart Clarus' standard: 67

Laisse 240. 7018–7042

7018/6827

S1: *Ci devise comment Gadifer coupa l'estandart que Clarvus avoit fait dre-cier en la bataille*: 113

Laisse 241. 7043–7081

7043/6852

N3: Gadifer, followed by a group of knights on horseback, destroys Clarus' standard text begins on 114 with an eight-line initial: 113v

S9: The battle of Ephésion: 122

U: *Cidevise coment Gadire coupa la perche*: Gadifer breaks the standard, which is on a cart, with his sword; to the side, two knights fight: 168v

7046/6855

P1: Marcien kills a knight in a joust: 67v

Laisse 242. 7082–7123

7082/6888

P1: Mêlée on the plain of Ephésion: 68

Laisse 243. 7124–7155

7126/6928

P1: Alexander kills a knight: 68v

Laisse 244. 7156–7196

7156/6955

W: Mêleé; Alexander? kills a knight: 155v

Laisse 245. 7197–7222

7204var/6995

P1: Alexander kills Salphadins, both standing, with his sword: 69

7219

S8: Alexander kills Salphadins, who falls from his horse: 112

Laisse 247. 7257–7303

7259/7045

P1: Emenidus delivers a blow to Porrus: 69v

7272/7056

P: *Comment Emenidus et Porrus soi entermellerent en cruelment combat-*
ent; bas-de-page archers and men with crossbows attack each other:
156

Laisse 248. 7304–7344

7305/7088

P1: Mêleé; knight strikes Caléo(?) on the head with a sword: 70

Laisse 249. 7345–7372

7356/7128

P1: Two knights joust: 70v

Laisse 250. 7373–7405

7372/7144

P: *Comment Alixandre tuea Canaam le fort*; Mêleé; bas-de-page two groups
of armed men: 156v

Laisse 251. 7406–7435

7406/7172

N2: *come Cassamus tua Clarus*; no miniature: 122v

7409/7175

P1: Indians flee: 71

7410/7176

W: Knight kills another knight, who falls from his horse, by sword:
159v

Laisse 252. 7436–7460

7436

Q: *Coment Marciens regrete Clarus son oncle*: Marcien mourns at Clarus' bedside with three other knights: 154

Laisse 253. 7461–7495

7471/7228

P1: Knights ride over a field covered with helmets: 71v

Laisse 254. 7496–7513

7496/7251

P1: Bétis and Perdicas joust: 72

Laisse 257. 7570–7606

7570/7324

P1: four knights on horseback converse: 72v

W: Alexander and other knights in mêlée, one knight on the ground: 162

7573

S8: A knight strikes another knight's neck: 114v

7574/7328

P: *Comment Porrus se continua noblement e ferre grant copis*; bas-de-page eight men play buisines, nakkers, bagpipes, shawm, vielle and harp: 157v; Mêlée: 158

Laisse 258. 7607–7627

7618/7367

P1: Mêlée; two knights strike each other with swords: 73

Laisse 261. 7684–7708

7684/7430

P: *Comment Porrus occite le cheval Alixandre* ; Mêlée; bas-de-page a wounded man is carted off to a building, on the left; on the right, a knight is offered a drink : 158v

7688/7434

P1: Mêlée; Alexander(?) strikes Porrus(?): 73v

Laisse 262. 7709–7745

7709/7455

W: Alexander's horse is killed in the mêlée: 164v

7732/7473a

P1: Alexander, protected by his men who wield bloodied swords: 74

Laisse 263. 7746–7847

7797/7530

P1: Five men converse: 74v

Laisse 264. 7848–7879

7848/7580

P1: Mêlée: 75

P4: Mêlée where a knight, at center, lifts his sword; ladies watch from the castle at left: 63

Laisse 266. 7904–7929

7904/7630

P1: Fésonas and two other women watch from the castle while, below, three men on horseback gesture: 75v

W: Mêlée where Alexander, on foot, his horse dead at his feet, fights Porrus(?), who is on horseback: 167v

Laisse 267. 7930–7999

7949?/7675

P1: Porrus kills Licanor: 76

Laisse 268. 8000–8024

8000/7725

P1: Mêlée with the swordfight (of Porrus and Cassamus?): 76v

Laisse 269. 8025–8076

8027/7749

P1: Mêlée with the swordfight of Porrus and Cassamus: 77

8043/7762

P7: *Comment Porrus ochist Cassamus*: 95v

Laisse 270. 8077–8088

8077/7792

P1: Mêlée with the sword fight (of Porrus and Cassamus?): 77v

Laisse 272. 8110–8121

8110/7818

W: Mêlée where Cassamus falls from his horse, struck by another Porrus' sword: 171

Laisse 273. 8122–8169

8122/7829

P1: Mêlée with the swordfight where Emenidus takes Porrus: 78

P4: A mêlée flanked by, at left, a castle, at right, a tent: 67v

8135

S8: Emenidus strikes Porrus, who falls from his horse: 126

8141/7844

P7: *Comment emenidus prist porrus*: 97

Laisse 274. 8170–8223

8170/7873

W: Porrus is presented to Alexander: 172

8173/7876

P: *Comment Porrus fuit pris*; two groups of knights speak, standing, before their mounts: 161; Porrus' wounds are treated before Alexander and three other men: 161v

8217/7915

P1: Alexander converses with Emenidus, Porrus and three other men: 78v

Laisse 276. 8252–8289

8264/7962

P1: Alexander converses with Emenidus and Porrus, another man leads two horses in from the right: 79

Laisse 277. 8290–8366

8290/7984

N2: *Ci dessus raconte comment li roys Alixandres/ a mis a chois Porus de ii choses cest a savoir/ de raler sen en son pais. Ou despouser Fésonas/ Or retourne a ma matiere coment Gadifer et Bétis revindrent de la batialle et descendent devant/ le tres noble roy Alixandre*: no miniature: 136–136v

W: Bétis and Gadifer, armed, with men on horseback, salute Alexander, before whom an unarmed man kneels: 174

8314/8008

P1: Alexander converses with Bétis and Gadifer, one of whom leads a horse at right: 79v

Laisse 278. 8367–8419

8367/8054

S8: Alexander sits between two couples in the Chamber of Venus: 130

S9: Alexander disarms: 144

W: Alexander and his men are welcomed before the Chamber of Venus
by Fésonas and two other women: 175v

8369/8056

P1: Alexander speaks to Fésonas in the Chamber of Venus; a horse at left:
80

Laisse 279. 8420–8458

8420/8103

P1: Porrus, having dismounted under a tree, is received by two women
who will take him to the Chamber of Venus: 80v

W: A condensed narrative with: at right, Porrus taken from his horse by a
man; at left, three ladies carry Porrus, wrapped in a carpet, into the
chamber of Venus: 176v

Laisse 281. 8473–8487

8473/8144a

P1: Alexander, on horseback, meets Gadifer and Bétis: 81

Laisse 282. 8488–8524

8488/8157

P1: Alexander participates at a feast: 81va

W: A group of men aid Alexander to wash his hands: two hold lavers, two
others extend a white towel: 177v

Laisse 283. 8525–8542

8525/8189

P1: Flanked by two men – one holding a torch, another sounding a
trumpet – Alexander presents Fésonas to Porrus: 81vb

P: *Comment roy Alixandre promist a Phezona pour estre marié a Porrus
ou Grant*; Alexander sits at table with two men and four women:
163v

Laisse 284. 8543–8584

8577/8250

P1: Alexander and group of four, with a horse: 82

Laisse. line within each laisse/ line (Ritchie)

Laisse 10.23/8379a

P1: The washing of Alexander's hands: 82v

Laisse 11.9/8398

W: Alexander speaks in the center of a large group of men and women:
182

Laisse 12.1/8431

W: At left, two men erect a tent; at right, Alexander speaks to a large group
of men: 182v

Laisse 13.5/8475

P1: Alexander, in center, converses with three women and two men in a
tent: 83

Laisse 14.1/8511

Q: *Cest li mariages des puceles que Alixandre fist*: At center, the marriage,
watched by Alexander and a woman and man in a tent at left:
162

10/8520

P1: Three men gesture at Alexander who embraces Fésonas: 83v

Laisse 15.1/8538

P1: Porrus kneels before Alexander, three men and Fésonas look on: 84

Laisse 19.3/8634

P1: Alexander seated, flanked by trumpeters: 84v
35/8669var.

P1: A two-frame miniature with kings leading their men, unarmed and on
horseback, in opposite directions: 85

Laisse 20.1/8685

W: Alexander departs on horseback with his men: 187

LE RESTOR DU PAON

Laisse/Line (Donkin)

PART I

1/1

N1: 142

N5: 151

N6: 141

P: *Chi finent les aveus de paon pour que elles avouis main chivaler morruit et maints autres gens perdirent le vie* (a colophon to the preceding *Voeux*) The king and his men arrive by horse and are received at the castle by ladies in a series of four miniatures; in the bas-de-page a woman watches goldsmiths construct the peacock (continues into the bas-de-page of 165); note to artist: top left: *Coment les damoyseles le rechoivent et les chvls*; right, two lines: *coment il le mainent en l'une chambre et en l'aure; ...en un...cité*: 164v

S1: 138

S7: 144v

W: 189

10/379

P: *Comment Alixandre demanda de son pere le roy Phelip la file calif pour estre marie a luy; A messenger hands the king a letter*; note to artist: top: *...ceant...: fol. 167*

11/441

P: A couple walk from a castle against which leans a ladder: 167v

12/457

W: 196

13/522

P: *Comment Aymes rescoua a damoisele et tuea le laron come un espée*; Two men fight while a seated woman looks on: 168

582

P: The robber lies beheaded, Aymes sheathes his sword while a seated woman looks on: 168va

14/602

P: The couple returns to the castle: 168vb

16/687

P: *Comment le calif monstra sa file soun tresour* (at the base of col. 1 of 168v); The king leads his daughter to a group of locked chests; bas-de-page, women looking into a chest on the left, women approaching a castle on the right; note to the artist top: *coment .i. damoysele parole a un roy et il le prent par le doit et la meine vers le tresor* : 169

18/752

P: *Comment un damoisele porta present a la duk Aymes de part sa dame* (169); Aymes receives a chest from a woman: 169v

759

W: 201

19/773

P: *Comment Emenidus de parta les mailles* (169v); *Comment le calif aloit veoir son tresoure* (170; is this meant for an image which was forgotten?); Aymes shows the chest to a group of men; historiated initial with two men; note to the artist top, col. 1: *comen...monstre le cofre a ses compaignons*: 170a

20/795

P: *Comment Alixandre donna a Emenidus le grant senorie* (170); A woman kneels before a king, to the left, a man with hands tied before a group of three men; col. 2: *Coment on juge un home et i damoysele parole au roy son pere...*: 170b

22/888

P: *Comment Elios parla a Marcian damouris essoie acorderent ensemble*; A group of men watch a bishop wed? a king and queen; top: *une eveques danx...put feme*: 170v

24/928

P: A woman and two men depart from a castle: 171a

W: 204

25/954

P: *Comment le roy Alixandre fuit mariage parentre Porrus et Phezonas* (perhaps this is meant for the marriage on 170v); The same group arrives at another castle and a man aids the woman to dismount: 171b

26/1004

W: 205

27/1029

W: 205v

28/1066

P: *Comment Alixandre maria ses chivalers et il les donna grant senourges* (171v); *Comment Alexandre tenaunt grant feste pour fere les maryages* (172); Alexander flanked by a man and woman; bas-de-page across 171v-172: two couples watch smiths at work; three couples of ladies watch Alexander with two men, to the right a group of musicians play: 172

30/1115

P: *Comment Édéa fuit fere un paon de honnoure des preious piers* (misplaced, forgotten miniature?); Tent with king flanked by a couple: 172va

31/1145

P: *Comment Porrus et autres seignours honnourent le paon d'or* (misplaced, and then repeated correctly on 174); King and five others at feasting table with shawm player: 172vb

33/1207

W: Presentation of gold peacock at feast: 208

Q1: 47v

34/1217

P: *Comment Alixandre acomplea les grant mariages que avoit fet in sa cort et fuit grant offerend' a la paon d'or*; two couples approach the peacock, which sits on a wooden trestle table: 173

36/1395 on 174v

P: *Comment Porrus et autres seignours honnourent le paon d'or*; five knights approach the peacock, behind which stands Édéa, each carrying an item with which to honor it (horse, sword, crowned hawk, heraldic pennant, helmet); top: *...son gonfanon Caulas sa heaume*: 174

PART II

1/1

P: missing large frontispiece: 174bis

N6: 164

S1: 161v

2/5

W: 213

26/1056

P: *Comment Elios parla sagement*; (181) A woman, holding a crowned hawk, speaks to a man while a group, at left, watches: 180v

28/1159

N2: *Comment li roys Alixandre trouva que Cassamus qui/ estoit trapassés avoit l'ounour de la bataille/ et le donna a Bétis son neveux. Et comment Bétis/ et comment Bétis [sic] fist couronner l'aigle [sic]: 158*

P: *Comment Elios et Emenidus et autres ferunt graunt feste et revel*; A carol dance with nine members above the laisse with intercalated lyrics and notation; bas-de-page: five men with animal masks and six women; note to artist, top: *une karole...*: 181va

W: Two carol dances; spaces left for musical notation on 231 : 230

1174

P: three men and two women speak: 181vb

29/1237

P: *Comment Elios fit le paon d'or figere sur un grant peler de marbre*; two couples flank the peacock which sits atop a decorated colonette; note to artist top: *Un paon dersus un piler et chivalers et damoiseles d'en coste*: 182

30/1270

W: 232

LE PARFAIT DU PAON

Laisse/ Line (Carey)

1/1

Si: Two seated figures: a man (the author) gesturing while a boy takes dictation: 183

W: bas-de-page note to artist: *Or dost avoir le roy Alexandre assis en une chaire/ comment il parle au peuple de tous costes*: 233v

51/1486

W: The prize is given for the best poem: 257

60/1706

W: 260v

83/2310

W: 271

108/3243

W: 286v

121/3661

W: 293v

CHAPTER NINE

CATALOGUE OF 'PEACOCK CYCLE' MANUSCRIPTS

ILLUMINATED MANUSCRIPTS

1. *Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cabinet des estampes, MS SK-A-3042 [P8/A]*

Northern France or Flanders, c. 1312, (figs. 83, 106, 107)

Manuscript: Parchment; 196 fols.; 131 × 200 mm (textblock: 100 × 147 mm); one column of twenty lines.

Decoration: Marginalia; foliate tendrils with clusters of trilobate gold leaves and berries which emerge from corners of miniatures.

Artist: This artist shows great attention to material details, such as the painstakingly drawn roof tiles and decorative polylobate arcading. He uses softly modeled drapery folds and heavy silhouetting. The male peacock, fanning his tail feathers is not alone: a drably colored female perches next to him. The dinner scene is enlivened with dancing women and trumpeters.

Content:

- 1–196 *Voeux* missing two initial folios (lines 1–60) and about forty folios at the end (lines 7009 to at least 8584). Byvanck, 1931, notes that the last extant folio only contains three verses, leading him to believe it was only a “feuillet de garde.”

Eighty-seven miniatures. The note on fol. 196, “*Et contient ce livre des hystoires IIII^{xx} et VIII,*” should be understood as an account of miniatures up to this point, thus including a lost frontispiece. The lost portion at the end of the manuscript, if it was ever completed, based on similarities with [P], may have had at least six more miniatures.

Bibliography: *Romania* 55, p. 301; C.R. de Batéman, “Gui de Cambrai: Le Vengement Alexandre,” *Speculum* 4, no. 2 (1929), p. 230; J.J. Salverda de Grave, “Un manuscrit inconnu du Voeux du Paon,” *Studi medievali*, n.s. 1 (1928), pp. 422–437, with full description of images and transcription of rubrics; A.W. Byvanck, *Les principaux manuscrits à peintures dans les*

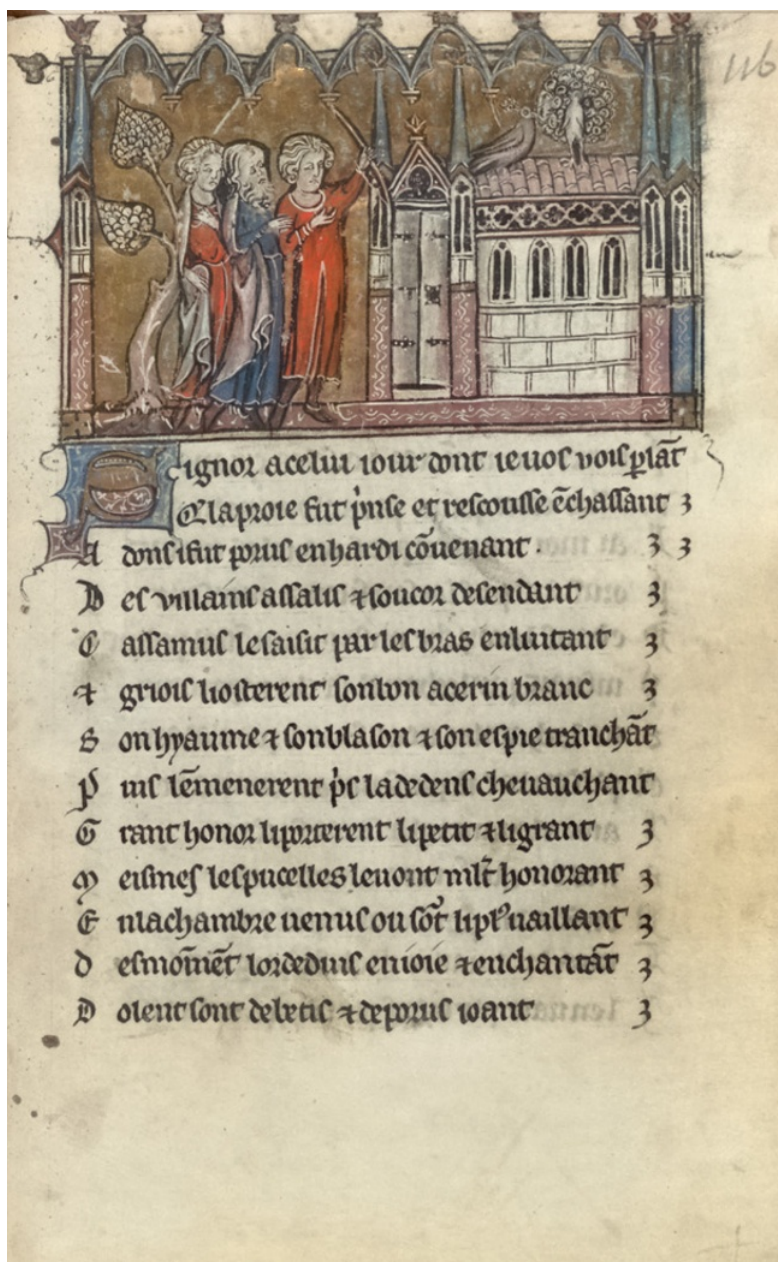


Fig. 106. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cabinet des estampes, MS SK-A-3042, *Voex du paon*, fol. 116, Porrus shoots the peacock (photo with permission: Library, Rijksmuseum).

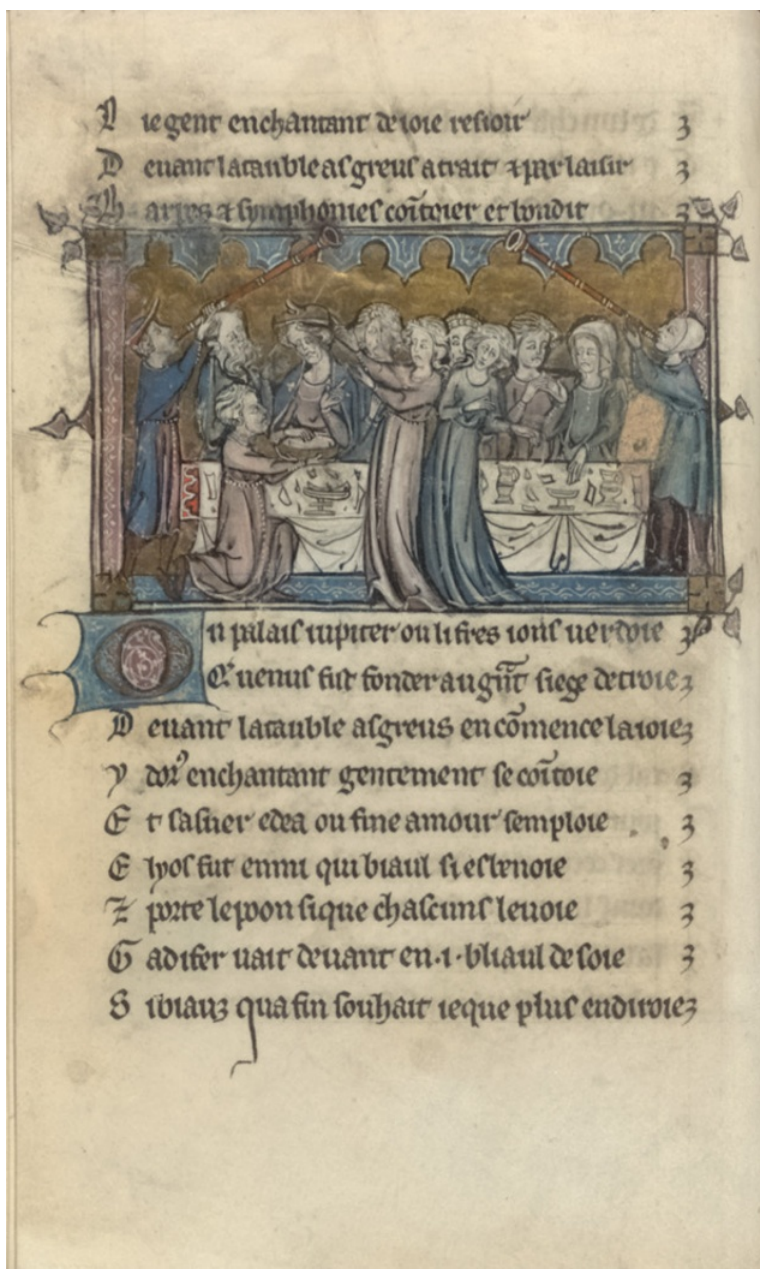


Fig. 107. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum, Cabinet des estampes, MS SK-A-3042, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 128v, Dancers at the dinner feast (photo with permission: Library, Rijksmuseum).

collection publiques du royaume des Pays-Bas, Bulletin de la Société française de reproductions de manuscrits à peintures, 15 (1931), pp. 9–15, fig. I.

2. *Brussels*, BR, MS *m90–m91* [*P2*]

m90: France, c. 1400, (fig. 108)

Manuscript m90: Parchment; 32 fols., 160 × 230 mm (textblock: 113 × 165 mm); single column of thirty-one lines. This volume consists of two manuscripts bound together. The second was never fully trimmed and still bears prick marks and untidy edges.

Decoration m90: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in blue and red with, respectively, red or blue flourishing. Red and blue line fillers. Fol. 1 with bar extender in gold, blue and pink, terminating in sprays of sycamore leaves in the same colors plus orange. Single-column, eleven-line miniatures with gold ivy leaves and tendrils at corners and along sides of frame.

m91: France, c. 1400

Manuscript m91: Parchment; 165 fols.; 160 × 230 mm, (textblock: 170 × 90 mm); single column of twenty-five lines.

Decoration m91: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in blue and red, some (on fols. 34v, 66v, 67, 69v, 73, 74v, 81v) are decorated in brown ink (the same color as the text) with various combinations of lozenged fills, marginalia and flourishes. There is a five-line *champie* initial in blue with gold ground and sprays of sycamore leaves in blue, pink, orange and gold at the opening of *Voeux*; the four-line initial at the beginning of *Voeux*, Part II is in red and blue with a red flourished fill and black flourished exterior. The miniatures are single-column: the first ten-line; the second sixteen-line, both with sprays of gold ivy with tendrils at corners of frames.

Artist: Same throughout. Similar, if not the same, to the artist in [*Q1*]. Though Dogaer previously dated them c.1370 and c. 1390, fashion and treatment of architecture argue for a date no earlier than c. 1400.

Contents m90:

1–32v *Les Sept sages de Rome*; nineteen mins.

Contents m91:

33–197v *Voeux* (incomplete, Ritchie 8309); two mins.

Provenance: mentioned in Philippe le Bon's inventory of 1467 (Dogaer, p. 99); Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, old call number '191' on inside of front cover.

Literature: *Catalogue des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque royale des ducs de Bourgogne* (Brussels, 1842); F. Frocheur, "Histoire romanesque d'Alexandre le Grand ou Recherches sur les différentes versions du pseudo-Callisthènes, à propos d'un manuscrit de la Bibliothèque royale de Belgique," *Messenger des Sciences historiques et Archives des arts en Belgique* (Gand, 1847), p. 412; Eelco Verwijs, *Roman van Cassamus* (Groningen, 1869), p. xii; G. Paris, ed., *Deux rédactions du Roman de Sept Sages de Rome* (Paris, 1876), p. iv; Ritchie 2, pp. xx–xxi; Ritchie 3, p. xxiii; Restor 1, p. 18 (En francien avec des picardismes); G. Doutrepoint, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), p. 134, n. 3; Gaspar and Lyna, no. 173; B. Woledge, *Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs à 1500* (Geneva, 1954); Brussels, *La Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, exh. cat., Bibliothèque Albert I^{er}, eds. Georges Dogaer and Marguerite Debae, (Brussels, 1967), no. 143, p. 99; C. van den Bergen-Pantens, "Portraits troyens et héraldique imaginaire. Les exemples d'Hector et de Penthésilée," *XV Congreso internacional de las ciencias genealógica y heráldica* (Madrid, 1983), pp. 219–230; H.R. Runte, "Variant Widows: On Editing and Reading Vidua," in *Medieval Codicology: Studies for Keith Val Sinclair*, (1994), pp. 240–247.

3. Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Bodmer, Cod. Bodmer 189 [S9]

Northeastern France, (traces of picardisms in text), c. 1320, (figs. 5, 109–113)

Artist: Renne Rose Master

Manuscript: 147 fols. (including two original blank leaves); 140 × 233 mm (textblock, quire 1: c. 85 × 161 mm; quires 16–19: c. 85 × 174 mm); one column of twenty-eight lines.

Decoration: eight-line miniatures with the exception of the fourteen-line miniature of the killing of the peacock on fol. 68v. Two-line laisse header initials alternating in red and blue with flourishing; five-line initials accompany miniatures.

Contents:

1–147 *Voeux*
thirteen mins.



Fig. 108. BR, MS 11190–11191, *Voies du paon*, fol. 33, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BR).

Provenance: C. De Hamel, Sotheby's, 1997, p. 140, writes, "on fols. 146v–147 are two series of records of medieval families of the Nivernais, to the southwest of Lorraine, the families of Rosay and de la Rivière. On fols. 147–147v are notes on the births of the five children of Guillaume de Rosay and his wife Philliberde de Merin, 1380–1386, at their castles of Anemoy and Mortagie at Rosay itself. In the fifteenth century the book belonged to Jean de la Rivière (c. 1468), chamberlain to Charles the Bold, with his ownership inscription on fol. 148, 'Ce livre est a Jehan' de la rivie quiy loublera per[.]andus sera,' with other scribbles and versions of the signature 'De la rivie[re]'. He married Alix de la Pierère, dame de Verneuil. The births of their four children are then entered on fols. 146v and 147v, 1420–1427, including Jacques de la Rivière (b. 1420), who inherited the manuscript and signed it at the foot of fol. 147v and again on fol. 148 within a decorative flourish. On the last page is a note on the text signed by Pierre Masson, bachelor of theology of Paris, dated 1672; the same man wrote a similar note on a *Roman du lis* in the Pierpont Morgan Library. Auguste Chardin, of Paris; his *Catalogue de Livres Précieux, Manuscrit et Imprimés sur peau-vélin*, 1811, p. 78, no. 300; but apparently not in his sale, de Bure, Paris, 9 February, 1824. Robert Lang (1750–1828), of London, with a price '6.6.0' on flyleaf, probably what Lang paid; his sale, Evans, 17 November 1828, lot 2306, to Payne and Foss. Sir Thomas Phillipps (1792–1872), his ms.3638, bought in 1828; his sale, Sotheby's...to Maggs; their Bulletin 6 (July 1969): no. 1, and their catalogue. 938 (September 1971), no. 3; Beck ms 19."

Literature: Ham 2: 78–84; Sotheby's, *Catalogue Bibliotheca Phillippica*. New Series. Medieval Manuscripts, part I, London, 30 November, 1965 lot 15, pp. 45–48; Sotheby's, *The Beck Collection of Illuminated Manuscripts*, London, 16 June, 1997, lot 17, pp. 139–144. I am grateful to François Avril who drew my attention to this manuscript.

Internet Resources: comprehensive catalogue entry and full set of miniatures: e-codices, Hélène Bellon-Méguelle, 2007, <http://www.e-codices.unifr.ch/en/description/cb/0189>.

4. *Copenhagen, Royal Library, Thott 414 (French XLVI) [S7]*

Paris, Montbaston Atelier, (Chart 8B, fig. 114)

Manuscript: Parchment; 165 fols.; one column of thirty lines.



Fig. 109. Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, MS Bodmer 189, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny, Geneva).



Fig. 110. Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, MS Bodmer 189, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 38, det., Cassamus boards a boat to cross the river Far (photo with permission: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny, Geneva).



Fig. 111. Cologny (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, MS Bodmer 189, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 49, det., Fésonas and Cassiel play chess (photo with permission: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologny, Geneva).



Fig. 112. Cologne (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, MS Bodmer 189, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 62, det., Porrus shoots the peacock (photo with permission: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologne, Geneva).



Fig. 113. Cologne (Geneva), Fondation Martin Bodmer, MS Bodmer 189, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 122, det., Gadifer accomplishes his vow to destroy the Indians' standard (photo with permission: Fondation Martin Bodmer, Cologne, Geneva).



Fig. 114. Copenhagen, Royal Library, MS Thott 414 (French XLVI), *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: Royal Library, Copenhagen).

Contents:

1–145v	<i>Voeux</i> two mins.
145–164v	<i>Restor</i> one min.

Literature: N.C.L. Abrahams, *Description des manuscrits français du moyen age de la Bibliothèque royale de Copenhague* (Copenhagen, 1844), pp. 120–2; Ritchie 3, p. lxvii; Restor 1, p. 19, “le scribe est souvent negligent en copiant le *Restor*”; Restor 2, pp. 21–22.

5. *Liverpool, City Library, MS OR 26–2 (Oak Room, case 26, shelf 2) [S8]*

Northern France or Flanders, 1320s, (figs. 115, 116)

Manuscript: Parchment; 131 fols.; 252 × 185 mm (textblock: 116 × 203 mm); one column of thirty-two lines.

Decoration: The first miniature, on fol. 1, is fourteen lines and the following are twelve-line; all are three-quarter-column, embedded in the text which flanks on the right; two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in blue and gold with, respectively, red and blue flourishing; the ruling is particularly dark; at the right end of each line is a diamond-shaped mark in ink.

Artist: This artist has some affiliation with that of [P8/A] with a palette incorporating bright orange, pale salmon, gray and gradients of blue including green-blue, with a washed out terracotta or cobalt blue used for the frame. Powder blue is used to outline drapery folds on a pale salmon ground; otherwise the artist outlines, rather than models, tone on tone. Architecture, with rounded forms in blue-gray and pink white mortar, recalls the Rennes *Rose* atelier. Faces are executed in black outlines on a very pale wash of flesh, having large foreheads and small chins. The segments of spandrels, sometimes broken, which appear as arcading devices in the miniatures, resemble those used by the Maubeuge painter. Horses have long, donkey-like ears and a dappled coat of white on blue.

Contents:

1–131	<i>Voeux</i> twenty mins.
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Provenance: Thomas Thorpe's No. 16487, sold 1824 to Sir Thomas Phillipps (Phillipps ms. 2582). Still in the Phillipps collection in 1929. Bought from Sawyer, London, June 28, 1957.

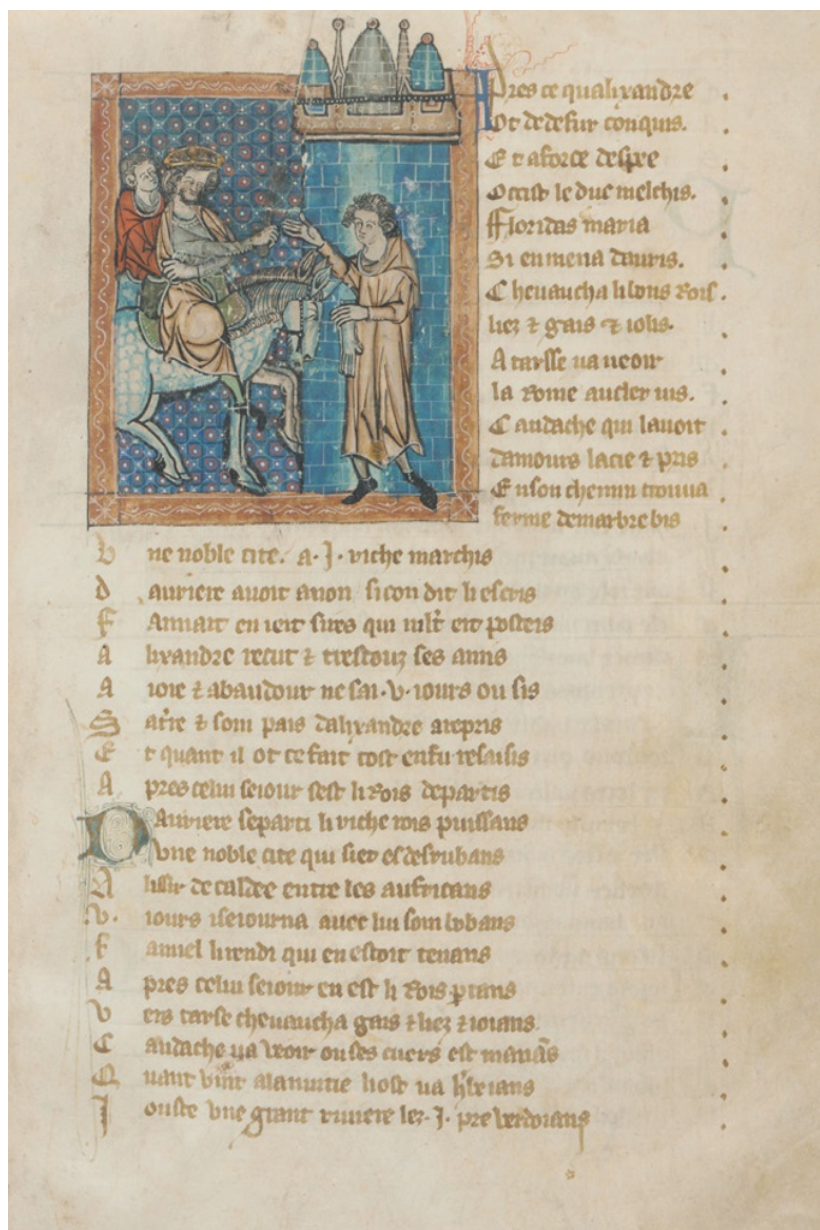


Fig. 115. Liverpool, City Library, MS OR 26-2, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: City of Liverpool Public Library).

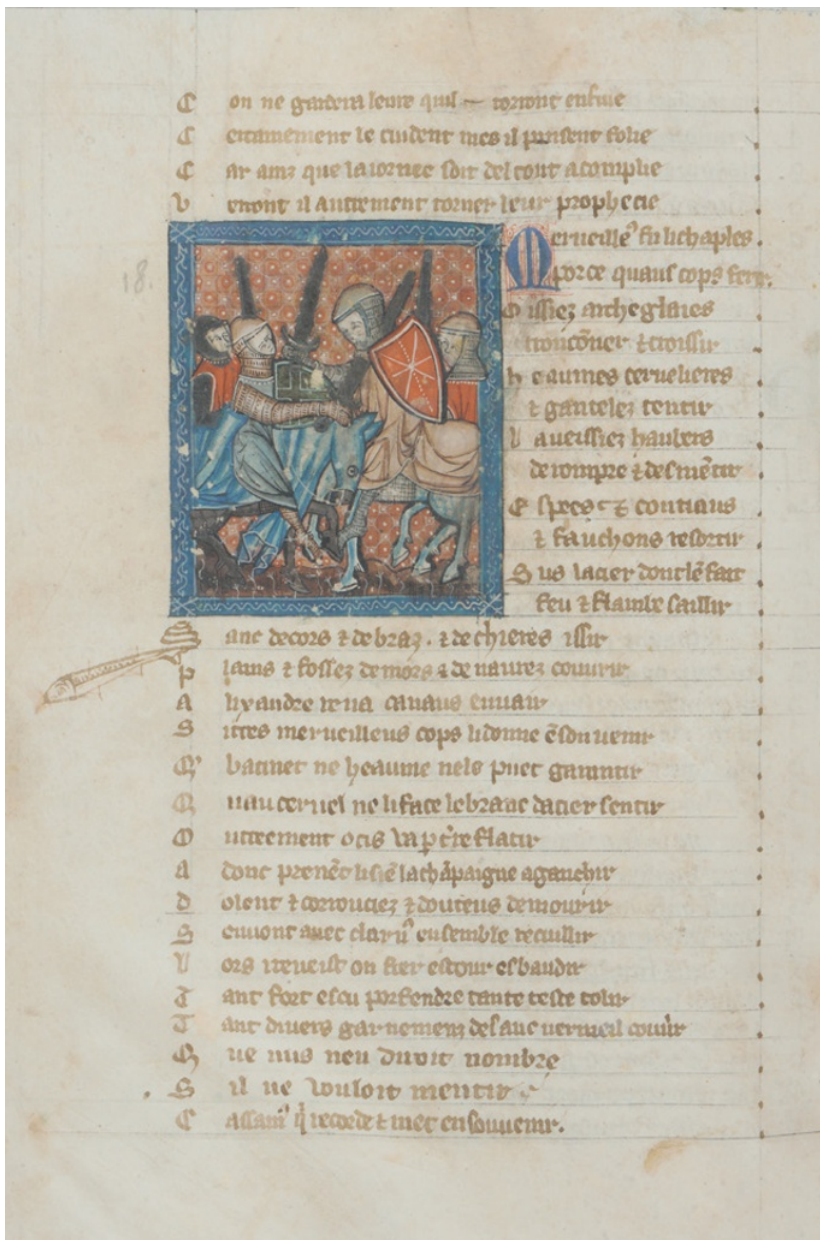


Fig. 116. Liverpool, City Library, MS OR 26-2, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 18, Decapitation scene (photo with permission: City of Liverpool Public Library).

Literature: P. Durrieu, "Les manuscrits à peintures de la bibliothèque de Sir Thomas Phillipps à Cheltenham," *Bibliothèque de l'école de chartes* 50 (1889), p. 389; Ham 2, pp. 78–84; *Medieval and Early Renaissance Treasures in the North West*, exh. cat., Manchester, Withworth Art Gallery, (Manchester, 1976), no. 21, p. 22; G. Dogaer, "Comptes rendus," *Scriptorium* 33 (1979), pp. 309–310, no. 21; *Medieval Manuscripts on Merseyside*, exh. cat., University Art Gallery, Liverpool (Liverpool, 1993), no. 23, p. 23, with fig.; N.R. Ker, *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*, vol. 3, (Oxford, 1983), p. 269.

6. *London, BL, MS Additional 16888* [N1]

Paris, c. 1335–1340, (Charts 7E and 8D, fig. 117)

Manuscript: Parchment; 161 fols.; 157 × 246 mm (textblock: 101 × 175 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Artist: Jeanne de Montbaston. The artist was identified by D.J.A. Ross (Ross, 1952).

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue. Donkin, 10, notes that the initials do not always alternate regularly and are not always at the beginning of a *laisse*; this is also the case with [N5], the lost manuscript, which was presumably made in the same workshop; verse initials marked with a dash of red ink in quires I and II (to 16v); four-line red initial with blue frame filled with a sycamore leaf on gold, fol. 1; the frontispiece, a bit rubbed, has a thirteen-line square miniature, and is decorated with a gold bar and medallions that include images, such as two kings, which may represent figures from the text; the bar bears sprays of gold and green sycamore leaves; foliate marginal extenders in blue and pink with crude ivy leaves in gold, pink, blue and purple-scarlet sprout in the top margin; the word 'corigie', in fine script, appears in the top and bottom margins from fols. 108v–114; tituli, as in [N6], fols. 66v, 79v.

Contents:

1–141v *Voeux* (folios 27–30 were inverted and should be in the following order: 26, 30, 28, 29, 27, 31)

one min.

142–161 *Restor*

one min.

Literature: Långfors, p. 18; *Catalogue of Additions to the Manuscripts in the British Museum in the Years 1846–1847*, vol. 8, 1864, pp. 314–315; Ward, vol. 1, p. 150; Ritchie vol. 1 (1921), pp. xxiii–xxiv; Ritchie vol. 2 (1927), pp. x–xii;



Fig. 117. BL, MS Add. 16888, *Restor du paon*, fol. 142, The golden peacock (photo with permission © The British Library Board).

Restor 1, p. 18 and *passim*; D.J.A. Ross, "Methods of Book Production in a XIVth-century French Miscellany, (London, BL, Ms. Royal 19.D.1)," *Scriptorium* 6 (1952), pp. 63–75, figs. 10–12, esp. p. 70; L.F. Flutre, "Études sur le *Roman de Perceforêt*. Quatrième article. Le premier livre (suite et fin)," *Romania* 74 (1953), p. 48; D.J.A. Ross, "Review of Carey, *Restor*," *Medium Aevum* 37 (1968), pp. 82–83; Restor 2, p. 10.

Provenance: On flyleaf: "Purchase of Tho. Rodd 17 April 1867 from Bourdillon sale at Paris."

7. London, BL, MS Additional 30864 [P4]

England? c. 1390–1400

Manuscript: Parchment; 79 fols.; 160 × 225 mm (textblock: 106 × 174 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Decoration: Miniatures are roughly eight lines high; two-line blue *laisse* header initials with elaborate, if crude, red flourishing. The miniature on fol. 10v is the sole to receive finished foliate ornament: a spray extends from each corner of the frame – two up, two down – with pink, blue and orange ivy leaves and pink buds. Folios 9–12, of quire II, have verse initials decorated with alternating washes of green and yellow.

Language: Ritchie, vol. 3, p. xxiv, writes, "the manuscript is very carelessly written and difficult to read. The language, with strongly marked Anglo-French characteristics, is incorrect, the lines seldom scan, words being frequently omitted, and the spelling takes little account of metre... The manuscript is apparently the work of an English scribe imperfectly acquainted with French and ignorant of metre. The beginning of a new *laisse* is seldom shown."

Artist: The brilliantly colored miniatures, in vivid but flat green, red, yellow and blue, the green serving as the ground, are executed in an uneven quality ranging from the neat, but mediocre, frontispiece to the sloppy remaining miniatures. Even at best the miniatures overlap the script and leave drawings unerased; the images at folios 1, 64 and 67v lack frames. This may be a sign of hasty execution or, perhaps, that the manuscript was left unfinished for some years. For example, there are signs of erasure above and below the miniature on fol. 10v, and unpainted drawings for two sprays of ivy on fol. 40. The angular, ruffled women's veils are characteristic of English, German, and Netherlandish art of the period.

Contents:

1–79 *Voeux* (begins at Part II, line 388o, lacking 7351–742o between fols. 56v and 57)
eight mins.

Literature: Långfors, p. 18; Add Catalogue 1876–1881, p. 123; H.L.D. Ward, *A Catalogue of Romances in the British Library*, vol. 1, (1883), p. 926; Ritchie 3, pp. xxiv–xxv; Restor 1, p. 18 (late fourteenth century; written in Anglo-Norman by a scribe who, apparently, had no mastery over French versification).

Provenance: Ward imputes that it may have formerly belonged to Baron de Roos or Ros based on the steward's 'byll' for 'Lady Gartyrede' on two velum leaves added at the front. They and Ward deduce that this may refer to Gertrude, the eldest daughter of Thomas [Manners, Earl of Rutland, d. 1543], the 13th Baron Ros, who married Gilbert [George Talbot], 6th Earl of Shrewsbury. On flyleaf, "purchased at Didot's sale (Lat. 32) 18 June 1878," on subsequent flyleaf: seal, "Didot 1850" as well as the book fig. of the family of Tyrry of Clancattane (refer to BL Harley 4036, fol. 306).

8. *New Haven, Beinecke Library, Yale University MS 613 [S10]*

North-Eastern France, c. 1325, (fig. 118)

Artist: Rennes *Rose Master*

Manuscript: Parchment; 138 fols.; 153 × 238 mm; one column of thirty lines.

Decoration: bar extenders with a spray of trilobate leaves and a dragon terminal and a bird in the bas-de-page. The corners of the frames bear starfish-like forms rather than the bi-color balls found in other Rennes *Rose Master* manuscripts. two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in blue and red with, respectively, red or blue flourishing. A note on fol. 137 identifies these initials: "*ce sont les grans letres quy sont en ce livre...ii^c demi et xxxv*," (Shailor, p. 99). Six-line *champie* blue and red initial on fol. 1.

Contents:

1–138 *Voeux*
one min.

Literature: Ham 2, pp. 78–84; Sotheby's, *Bibliotheca Phillippica, Medieval Manuscripts*, New Series, part II, London, 30 November, 1976, lot 866, pp. 34–6, color fig. B; Barbara A. Shailor, "Beinecke Library, Yale University:

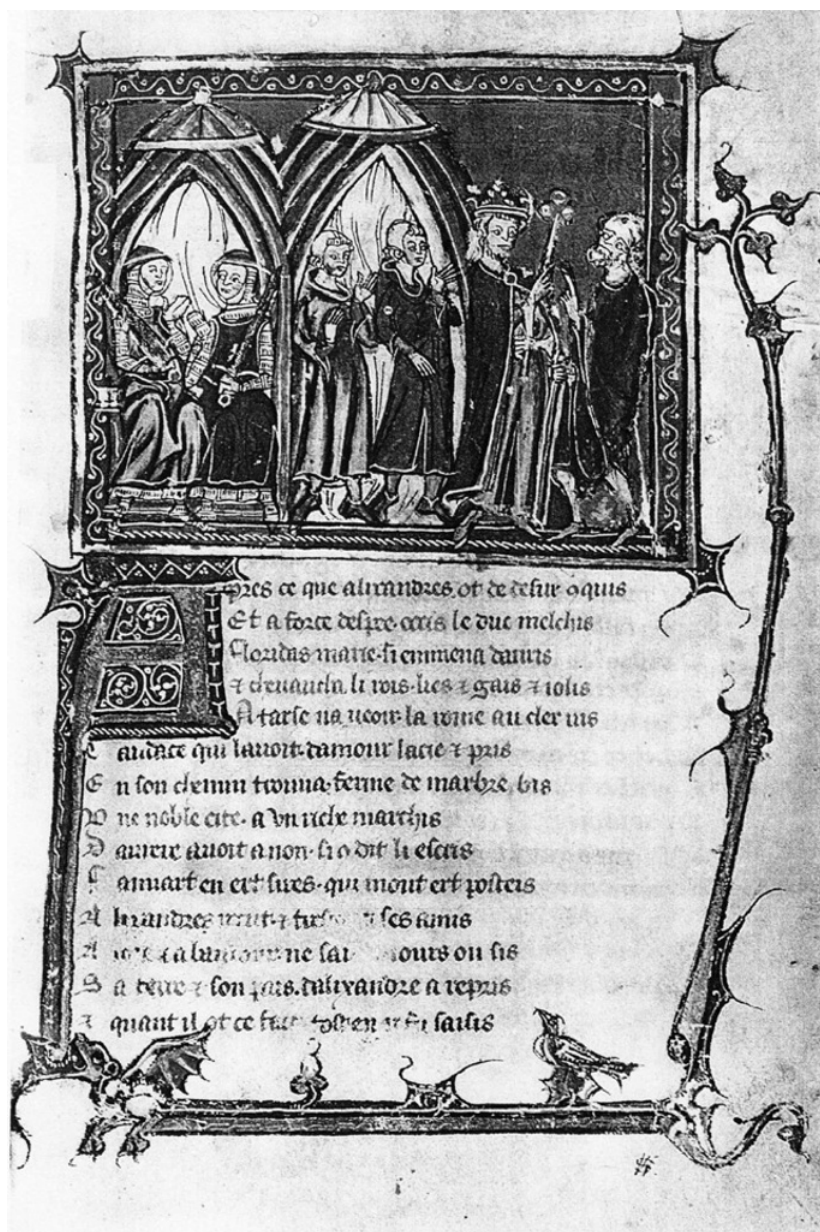


Fig. 118. New Haven, Beinecke Library, MS 613, *Voex du paon*, fol. 1, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: Beinecke Rare Book and Manuscript Library).

Recent Acquisitions," *Scriptorium* 35 (1981), pp. 95–101; see ms. 613, no. 1, p. 99.

Provenance: Phillipps 8314.

Internet resources: comprehensive catalogue entry with reproduction of miniatures: http://beinecke.library.yale.edu/dl_crosscollex/SetsSearchExecXC.asp?srchtype=ITEM.

9. *New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, MS Glazier 24 [P7]*

Tournai? 1350s, (figs. 6–9, 12–43, 45–79, 86–87, 89–96, 100–105, 126–127, 130; plates 1–22)

Manuscript: Parchment; 141 fol.; 175 × 245 mm (textblock: 115 × 187 mm); one column of approximately twenty-nine lines; modern foliation in graphite in upper right corner; one set seeks to reproduce the original order of the book, beginning thus with fol. 25; the other, more recent, is a through foliation.

Decoration: The last extant leaf, fol. 141, was the first page of a new gathering; here the mise-en-page changes abruptly and plain, two-line initials replaced the previous painted ones at the head of laisses. The remaining stub bears the ends of red flourishing, notably farther into the margin than that on the preceding two folios.

Artists: The Peacock Master and the Scat Master¹. The Peacock Master has an overall finesse and 'modern' or 'Pucellian' interest in Italian-derived modeling with an elegant linearity. His style hovers between the more pronounced doll-like sophistication, pastel palette and elongated torsos of [P]'s Gryse Master and the skillfull modeling and ribald marginal repertoire of Tournai-based illuminator Pierart dou Tielt.² The Peacock Master's use of highly contrasted three-dimensional architectural forms and the

¹ See Brussels, BR, MS 9634–9635, *Bible historique*, vol. 2; France c. 1355, mentioned by Plummer in relation to *Voeux* but described by Dogaer (*Librairie de Philippe le Bon*, no. 4, pp. 11–12) as style of Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy, p. 11; Gaspar and Lyna, no. 133.

² See Appendix 3 for a check-list of Pierart dou Tielt manuscripts. A. d'Haenens, "Pierart dou Tielt, enlumineur des oeuvres de Gilles le Muisis. Notes sur son activité à Tournai vers 1350," *Scriptorium* 33 (1969), pp. 89–93. Alison Stones, "Prolegomena to a Corpus of Vincent of Beauvais Illustration," in M. Paulmier-Foucart, ed., *Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et receptions d'une oeuvre encyclopédique au moyen age*, (Montreal, 1990), pp. 301–344, p. 302, n. 3; eadem, "The Artistic Context," in *Chretien de Troyes*, p. 259, n. 127; Lori Walters, "Wonders and Illuminations: Pierart dou Tielt and the Queste del Saint Graal," in Keith Busby, ed., *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature* (New York, 1996), pp. 339–372, nn. 8–9;

spatial exploration with baldequin arcading similarly recalls work in [P], to which can be added an entire group of Flemish manuscripts including the Missal of Louis de Male, of c. 1360 (BR, MS 9237). Alison Stones notes that one artist in the Glazier Peacock is "a more developed version of Pierart dou Tielt."³ In particular, three elements separate Pierart from the Peacock Master. First, the former consistently depicts conservative fashion trends where a long-sleeved shirt is tightly fitted with white buttons on the sleeves running from elbow to wrist and worn under a long cloak ending at the elbow. The Peacock Master's fashions are comparatively body-conscious. Second, the Peacock Master's modelling is applied more fully to the features, as in contemporary panel painting, whereas Pierart still relies on outlining for his figure's upward slanting, almondine eyes. The Peacock Master, however, shares iconographic motifs with Pierart and other artists in [P], fols.: 43v, 44 (dog); 2, 42v (hawk); 100v (mating chicken); 124v (sow and piglets); 122v (dog type); 97–98v (drapery treatment of women's clothing); and 84v (boar-headed dancing figures and the fool wearing a bicorn with jingles and britches).

A manuscript dated 1344 (Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 122, *Lancelot du lac*) the year [P] was finished, shares the Glazier Peacock artist's attention to details of contemporary fashion, along with his taste for scatological, erotic, and topsy-turvy marginalia on fol. 1 (figs. 119–123).⁴ The images in the right margin include a peacock (fig. 120) and an ape school (fig. 121). In the bas-de-page, starting at left, a woman uses a bagpipe as a target for her arrows; next, a nun or widow kneels to perform fellatio(?) on a standing man who pushes her head down; following is a group playing a game (two figures are kissing); and, at far right (reminiscent of the nude man simultaneously urinating and defecating into two hanaps in the Glazier Peacock, fig. 73), a woman lifts her dress which she holds in her teeth while a nude, bearded man seems to be about to have her urinate into a hanap, even as an ape pokes a stick in this man's anus which releases a stream of excrement into a violet hanap (fig. 122). The miniature on the frontispiece is the work of the Peacock Master, but the marginalia are close to a finer version of Pierart's style. The remaining miniatures are by the Scat Master or a closely-related hand; fol. 62v, for example, (fig. 123).

eadem, "Illuminating the *Rose*: Gui de Mori and the Illustrations of MS 101 of the Municipal Library, Tournai," in Kevin Brownlee and Sylvia Huot, eds., *Rethinking the Romance of the Rose: Text, Image, Reception* (Philadelphia, 1992), pp. 167–195.

³ Stones, "Prolegomena," pp. 301–344.

⁴ I thank Alison Stones for introducing me to this *Lancelot* manuscript.



Fig. 119. BnF, ms. fr. 122, *Lancelot du lac*, fol. 1, Lancelot crosses the Sword Bridge, fights the magical lions and jousts with Méléagant, watched from the castle by Genièvre and King Bagdemagus (photo with permission: BnF).

Aside from the connection to Pierart, the most convincing stylistic comparisons have been made by Gerhard Schmidt who proposes a loose connection with the artist responsible for a portion of the stained glass windows at the Abbey of Saint-Ouen, Rouen, of c. 1320 and another artist



Fig. 120. BnF, ms. fr. 122, *Lancelot du lac*, fol. 1, det., A peacock (photo with permission: BnF).

who executed the figures in the decorative backgrounds of the choirstall paintings in Cologne Cathedral of c.1340.⁵ All three objects are notable for their music-making drolleries, clean, calligraphic lines and attention to details of fashion and hair style. The longer, more fluid garments here, as in Rouen, are as much as a decade earlier than the Peacock Master.

⁵ André Masson, *L'Abbaye de Saint-Ouen de Rouen*, (Rouen, 1930); Jean Lafond, Françoise Perrot and Paul Popesco, *Les vitraux de l'église Saint-Ouen de Rouen*, (Paris, 1970) (*Corpus vitrearum medii aevi*, France, IV-2/1); Françoise Perrot, *Le vitrail à Rouen*, 1972; eadem, "Le vitrail légendaire à Saint-Ouen de Rouen," *Monuments historiques* 103 (June, 1979), pp. 27–32; Paris, Grand Palais, *Les Rois maudits*, exh. cat. (Paris, 1998), see no. 302, p. 390,



Fig. 121. BnF, ms. fr. 122, *Lancelot du lac*, fol. 1, det., Ape school (photo with permission: BnF).

where Lafond's hypothesis that the painters were from Paris is supported. For a stylistic discussion of the choirstalls in the context of the Cologne school, see: Frank Günter Zehnder, *Gotische Malereien Köln. Altkölner Bilder 1300–1550* (Wallraf-Richartz-Museum Köln. Bildhefte zur Sammlung, vol. 3), (Köln, 1989); R. Budde, *Köln und seine Maler 1300–1500*, (Köln, 1986), pp. 23ff, 196, 263; U. Wachsmann, "Die Chorschrankenmalereien im Kölner Dom, Untersuchungen zur IkonoLogie", Ph.D. dissertation, Bonn, 1985; Reiner Hausherr, "Die Chorschrankenmalereien des Kölner Doms," in *Vor Stefan Lochner. Die Kölner Maler von 1300–1430, Resultatband, Kölner Berichte zur Kunstgeschichte, Begleithefte zum Wallraf-Richartz-Jahrbuch 1977*, Bd. 1, (Köln, 1977), pp. 48ff.; A. Stange, *Kritisches Verzeichnis der deutschen Tafelbilder vor Dürer*, vol. 1, (Munich, 1967). In relation to the Glazier Peacock, see: Gerhard Schmidt, "Die Chorschrankenmalereien des Kölner Doms und die europäische Malerei," *Kölner Domblatt*, 44–45, (1979–80), pp. 293–340, see pp. 299–301 for the discussion of the Glazier Peacock, for extensive remarks on costume, p. 336, n. 28, and hairstyles see p. 355, n. 20. Schmidt's use of hairstyles for dating is too literal; for work on the technique and restoration, see, "Zu den Chorschrankenmalereien im Kölner Dom: Colloquium vom 7. bis 9. November 1977 – Vorträge und Diskussion," *Jahrbuch der Rheinischen Denkmalpflege* 29 (1983). Frank Günter Zehnder, *Kataloge des Wallraf-Richartz-Museums, XI: Katalog der altkölner Malerei*, (Köln, 1990), nos. 855–859, five panels with five standing female saints attributed to Köln, c. 1330–1340, and compared to the painter of the Choir stall figures on blue ground, pp. 107–110, p. 109, "...die in zeichnerischer Auffassung und Haltung eine vergleichbare Anlage zeigen." There is a similar treatment of facial modeling with bright foreheads and heavily shadowed eye-sockets, but the proportions of the figures, perhaps exaggerated in this instance due to the panel format, are much more elongated, and the execution of the drapery folds and hair more linear and summary.



Fig. 122. BnF, ms. fr. 122, *Lancelot du lac*, fol. 1, det., A nude man defecates into a ewer held by an ape and watches a woman hike up her dress with her teeth (photo with permission: BnF).

The choirstall figures have a decorative background with 'inhabited' foliage. The same artist designed the figures in the background of a richly embroidered panel, thought to be part of a caparison or standard made for Edward III in 1330–1340 and perhaps presented to a convent during a visit to Koblenz in 1338 (figs. 124, 125).⁶

One group of marginalia in the Glazier Peacock stands apart in coloristic treatment and in the presence of highly modeled grape or acanthus leaves on foliate terminals which sprout in the place of tails, on folios 9v, 14v, 19 (fig. 126), 130v, and 134v (fig. 127). The grape leaf stands at odds with the sycamore or ivy leaves used for the foliate bar extenders and frames of miniatures customarily present in Flemish and/or Parisian and Northern French manuscripts. The grape leaf is, however, used commonly in a group of manuscripts associated with the patronage of the ecclesiastical elite in the Upper Rhine: in Cologne, Bishop Walram von Jülich (1332–1349); in Trèves, Archbishop and Elector Balduin von Luxemburg (1285, 1307–1357). Gothic manuscript illumination from this poorly charted area is characterized by a

⁶ Paris, Musée de Cluny, 20367. See K. Staniland, *Medieval Craftsmen: Embroiderers* (London, 1991), p. 24 and figs. 20, 25, and 26.



Fig. 123. BnF, ms. fr. 122, *Lancelot du lac*, fol. 62v, det., Lancelot buries his companion Galeholt in a rich tomb (photo with permission: BnF).

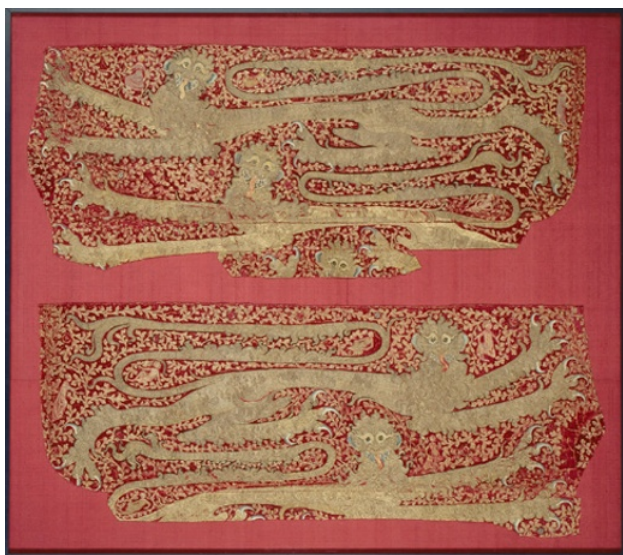


Fig. 124. Paris, Musée national du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny, *Two Heraldic Panels from a Standard or Caparison with Leopards made for Edward III*, silk with gold embroidery, pearls and gemstones, 51 × 124 cm.; England, 1330–1340. Inv. Cl. 20367a / Cl. 20367b (photo with permission © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY).



Fig. 125. Paris, Musée national du Moyen Age, Thermes de Cluny, *Two Heraldic Panels from a Standard or Caparison with Leopards made for Edward III*, silk with gold embroidery, pearls and gemstones, 51 × 124 cm.; England, 1330–1340. Inv. Cl. 20367a and Cl. 20367b, det. (photo with permission © RMN-Grand Palais / Art Resource, NY).

rich stylistic pluralism resulting in a recognizably unique, if sometimes quirky, local vocabulary.⁷

The Scat master also shares motifs and drawing peculiarities with a group of Cologne manuscripts.⁸ On fol. 292 of a Breviary (ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Petri Coloniensis), Paris, BnF n.a.l. 3105, there are figures of two knights in the right margin. Reminiscent of monumental jamb or gisant sculpture, each stands on an animal: a dog and a lion (fig. 128). The same hand painted a woman hiking up her dress and standing on a dog; and wielding a slingshot, in Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Balduineum 2, fol. 34v (fig. 129). Their female counterpart on fol. 42 in the Glazier Peacock is a housewife, skirt hiked up and distaff and spindle in hand. She stands on a dragon and menaces a running cat (fig. 130).⁹

In a more general fashion, the following marginal motifs, common in Flemish illumination, are found in both the Glazier Peacock and the following Cologne manuscripts:

- 1) A monkey winding yarn: [P7], fol. 15; Missal of Baudouin de Luxembourg,¹⁰
- 2) A stork eating a worm: [P7], fol. 66; BnF n.a.l. 3105, fol. 181;
- 3) The fable of the stork and the fox: [P7], fols. 78v, 87v; BnF n.a.l. 3105, fol. 40v; Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung, Nr. 9, fols. 16, 19; Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Balduineum 3, fol. 41.¹¹

It is interesting to note that the figure in the Glazier Peacock has been executed by the Peacock master, but that the knights (a slightly later addition) are stylistically close to the Scat master.

⁷ See François Avril and Claudia Rabel, *Manuscripts enluminés d'origine germanique*, vol. 1 X^e–XIV^e siècle, (Paris, 1995), pp. 161–163.

⁸ Avril and Rabel, *Manuscripts enluminés*, no. 142, BnF nouv. acq. lat. 3105, *Breviarum ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Petri Coloniensis*, Cologne, c. 1340–50. I am not convinced that all figures are by the same hand here: one uses a scratch-line for creating a compressed almondine outline with a dot for the eye; the other uses the very Flemish ‘tadpole’ eye, especially fols. 180 and 182. The far range of this style is to be found in Cologne from c. 1350–60 in Cologne, Wallraf-Richartz-Museum, Graphische Sammlung, nos. 65, 66 (Stockholm, A 172); two detached leaves from an antiphonary, c. 1350, *Vor Lochner*, no. 79, p. 136; nos. 9, 16, 19, 21, detached leaves from an antiphonary, c. 1360, *Vor Lochner*, no. 80, p. 136; this last the same painter as Cologne, Erzbischöflichen Diözesanbibliothek, MS. 150, Gradual made for the Cologne Dominicanerinnen Cloister of St. Gertrude c. 1350, *Vor Lochner*, p. 63.

⁹ Compare this, for example, with the allegorical representation of strength, a woman standing on a lion, in the bas-de-page of the *Belleville Breviary*, BnF, ms. lat. 10483–10484, vol. 1, fol. 37.

¹⁰ Sotheby's, Major J.R. Abbey, London, 4 June, 1974, lot 2920, pl. 26; Franz J. Ronig, “Kunst unter Balduin von Luxemburg,” in *Balduin von Luxemburg. Erzbischof von Trier – Kurfürst des Reiches (1285–1354). Festschrift aus Anlass des 700. Geburtsjahres*, eds. Johannes Mötsch and Franz-Josef Heyen (Mainz, 1985), pp. 489–558, pp. 548–549.

¹¹ Mistakenly referred to as Balduineum 2 in Ronig, “Kunst unter Balduin.”

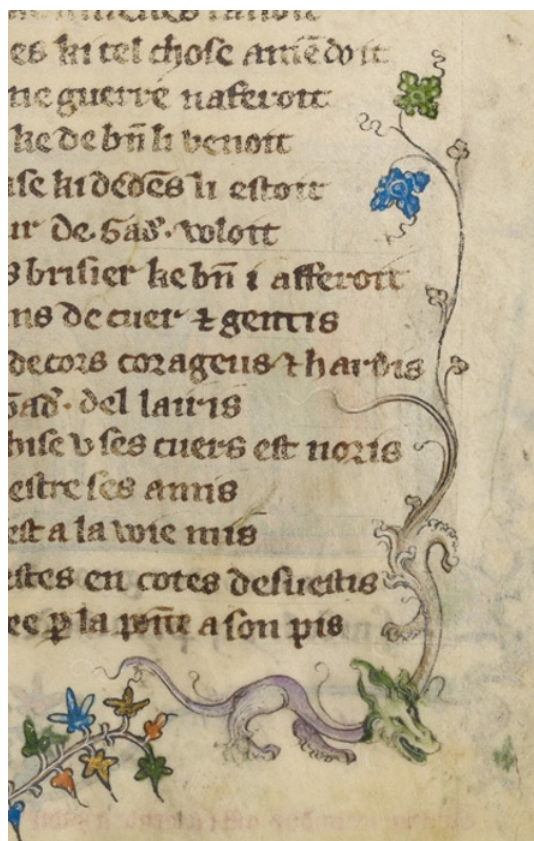


Fig. 126. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 19, det., Hybrid beast with one head and two bodies (photo with permission: PML).



Fig. 127. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 134, det., Hybrid beast with budding tail (photo with permission: PML).

Although entirely fictive, heraldry plays an important role in the miniatures of the Glazier Peacock.¹² They present the opportunity to maintain “des armes imaginaires stables.”¹³ The ubiquitous depictions of Alexander's shield and pennants is understandable given the relationship of the

¹² Grigsby, *The Gab*, p. 190, resumes Ritchie's hypothesis that the peacock itself is of heraldic significance. See Alison Stones, “Les débuts de l'héraldique dans l'illustration des romans arthuriens,” in *Les Armoriaux*, eds. H. Loyau and M. Pastoureau, (Paris, 1998), 395–420.

¹³ I am very grateful to Elizabeth Morrison for introducing me to Christiane Van den Bergen-Pantens, director of the Centre International de Codicologie in Bruxelles. Pantens



Fig. 128. BnF n.a.l. MS 3105, *Breviary* (ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Petri Coloniensis), fol. 292, det., Knights standing on a dog and a lion (photo with permission: BnF).
 Fig. 129. Koblenz, Landeshauptarchiv, Best. 1 C Nr. 2, fol. 64, det., (photo with permission: Landeshauptarchiv, Koblenz).



Fig. 130. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 42, det., Woman standing on a hybrid dog and raising a distaff and spindle over her head (photo with permission: PML).

Peacock Cycle to the *Roman d'Alexandre*. His coat of arms on fol. 19v is 'Or a lion rampant gules'. King Clarus' 'Quarterly or and azure' blazon features prominently throughout the battle scenes, as on fol. 85v. Porrus carries a shield on fol. 37v emblazoned with 'Per pale azure and gules a boar's head proper'. The arms of Emenidus on fol. 80v, however, 'Or on a fess azure charge with three roundels argent' suggest a repertoire that was drawn on by the Peacock Master for at least one other manuscript.

The *Lancelot du lac*, as mentioned above, was painted in part by the two artists who worked in the Glazier Peacock. This is the same year that the Bodleian Alexander was completed, and it is very likely that some of the artists involved with this massive and luxurious manuscript also worked on the *Lancelot*. Strikingly, Emenidus' coat of arms in the later Glazier Peacock derives from that of Lancelot in this manuscript (fig. 119). On fol. 1, a conflated narrative shows three successive images of Lancelot with his shield. He is overcoming the obstacles holding him back from entering a castle where Guinièvre is being held hostage – the perilous bridge, the magically created lions and leopard, and a fight with Méléagans, son of the king of this castle, Baudemagut. This is the only image in this manuscript painted by the Peacock Master.

Hélène Bellon-Méguelle has analyzed the role heraldry played in the text. She has written on animals used as metaphors for various knights in the *Voeux*. This is invaluable for the manner in which it impacts possible rapports between text and image in the miniatures. She writes:

Un guerrier qui poursuit ses ennemis est comparé à un loup qui pourchasse des brebis (v. 820); les fuyards détalent *comme levrier* (l. 6732); [la colère des] guerriers...est comparée à celle...du *lyon* (lines. 3063, 7806), ou du *sengler* (l. 7774). Le jeune Porrus...porte étonnamment deux écus différents à figure distincte sans que le texte n'explique cette apparente contradiction. Tantôt il se reconnaît à son "escu mi-parti / D'azur et de vermeil, a .j. lyon poli"(v. 3030) tantôt, "à l'escu d'or luisant, ou ot .j. noir sengler." (l. 3141).¹⁴

kindly took time out of a busy schedule to help identify the heraldics in the Glazier Peacock and wrote (private communication) that, "Les comparaisons avec d'autres manuscrits peuvent éventuellement constituer une piste pour l'identification d'ateliers ou de modèles, mais rien d'héraldique ne peut en être conclu." She also sent me a copy of her article which treats the same issue, "Portraits troyens et héraldique imaginaire. Les exemples d'Hector et de Penthésilée," in *Comunicaciones al XV Congreso Internacional de las Ciencias Genealógicas y Heraldica* (Madrid, 1983), pp. 219–230.

¹⁴ Bellon-Méguelle, pp.43–46; she adds that "Les couleurs de cet écu [à Porrus] sont contraires à la règle d'association des couleurs du blason qui était très strictement respectée durant tout le Moyen Âge. Celle-ci interdisait en effet la juxtaposition du bleu (azur) et du rouge (gueule)."

In the miniatures of the Glazier Peacock, Porrus is clearly identified by heraldry. His shield has armorials which are a mixture of the two textual descriptions cited by Bellon-Méguelle. It is 'Mi-parti d'azur et de vermeil à noir sanglier' on fol. 37v where he is taken captive and brought to the castle, and on fol. 80v where he fulfills his vow by unhorsing Emenidus.

Contents:

1-102v *Voeux*: lacking three quires of eight at the beginning; and, contrary to Donkin, 12, the contents of the original quires [XV] and [XVI], of which only fols. 89-92 remain in the present-day quire XII, would have constituted two quires of eight: ten folios between 88v and 89 (Casey, lines 6803-7438) and two folios between 92v and 93 (Casey lines 7686-7801); quire XIII has been misbound and the order should be: 93, 94, 96, 95, 98, 97, 99, 100.

twenty-two mins.

102v-141 *Restor*: lacking about two quires of eight at the end (Donkin, 17).

Literature: J.H. de Hefner-Altnack, *Trachten des christlichen Mittelalters*, vol. 2 (Frankfurt: 1840-54), pp. 39-41, 47-49, pl. 28, 31; K.A. Barack, *Die Handschriften der Fürstlich-Fürstenbergischen Hofbibliothek zu Donaueschingen* (Tübingen, 1865), pp. 161-163, no. 168; Ritchie 2, p. xxi; Ritchie 3, pp. xxvii-xxviii; L. Olschki, *Manuscrits français à peintures des bibliothèques d'Allemagne* (Geneva, 1932), p. 55, pl. LXVII; Glazier, pp. 365, 368; J. Plummer, *Manuscripts from the Glazier Collection* (1967), p. 21, no. 28, pl. 5, 24; Faye & Bond, p. 395; L.M.C. Randall, "The Snail in Gothic Marginal Warfare," *Speculum* 37 (1962), p. 363, fig. 4; Restor 1, p. 19 (written in Franco-Picard with Eastern traits); IMG (1966), pp. 14, 32, figs. 53, 62, 179, 180, 441, 442, 449, 462, 520, 529, 531, 532, 534-538, 565, 576, 640, 641, 651, 659, 687, 692, 703, 733; Brussels, Bibliothèque royale Albert Ier, *La librairie de Philippe le Bon*, comps. G. Dogaer and M. Debae (Brussels, 1967), pp. 11-12; Plummer Glazier Collection, pp. 30-31, no. 39, pl. 6, 36; Avril, "Un chef d'oeuvre de l'enluminure sous le règne de Jean le Bon," pp. 116-117, n. 1; Schmidt, "Der Chorschränkenmalereien," pp. 299-301, fig. 11; Paris, Galeries nationales du Grand Palais, *Les fastes du gothique: le siècle de Charles V* (Paris, 1981), p. 349, no. 302; Sotheby Parke Bernet & Co., *Catalogue of Twenty Illuminated Manuscripts from the Fifth to the Fifteenth Century from the Library at Donaueschingen*, London, 21 June 1982, p. viii; Kolve, *Chaucer and the Imagery of Narrative*, pp. 196, 442, n. 80, fig. 89; Restor 2, pp. 17-18; Camille, *Image on the Edge*, fig. 86. G.T. Clark, "The

William S. Glazier Collection,” in the *Twenty-first Report to the Fellows of the Pierpont Morgan Library. Medieval & Renaissance Manuscripts Acquired 1984–1986, Including the Collections of William S. Glazier & Curt F. Bühler* (New York, 1989), pp. 43–109, pp. 65–67; Elizabeth Morrison and Anne D. Hedeman, *Imagining the Past in France: History in Manuscript Painting, 1250–1500* (Los Angeles, 2010; published in conjunction with the exhibition held at the J. Paul Getty Museum), no. 65, pp. 305–308; Elizabeth Moore Hunt, “The Naked Jongleur in the Margins”, pp. 85–202.

Provenance: inside cover: ex-libris seals from William Simon Glazier and HA (with ‘73’ ticket), in brown pen, three scratched out lines Donaueschingen?, in graphite above “XIX c. 170;” stamp on the stub of the flyleaf; André Hachette, sold Librairie Giraud-Badin, Paris, 16 December 1953, lot 30, p. 19 with fig.

Internet Resources: detailed catalogue entry and full set of miniatures and marginalia: New York, Pierpont Morgan Library’s online catalogue, Corsair: <http://corsair.themorgan.org/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=8&ti=1,8&Search%5FArg=voeux%20paon&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E&CNT=50&PID=CQUlaEt6wzpQ-jlboVj8CPayZNW7&SEQ=20120124154708&SID=1>.

10. *New York, Public Library, Spencer Collection, MS 9 [S4]*

Anglo-Norman? c. 1360 (figs. 131–133)

Manuscript: Parchment; 305 × 200 mm (textblock: 175 × 253 mm); two columns of forty-two lines.

Artist: Grisaille images on backgrounds of bright orange with scarlet rinceaux or pale violet with powder blue rinceaux. The frames alternate with the color of the background: orange/pale violet, with a white wavy line. Dainty line drawing for the features and details of armor and costume. Washes in green and occasionally ochre-brown (the same as the color of ink running through or daubing the line header initials on some pages) with scarlet or orange for lips. Some miniatures are accompanied by roman numerals which do not correspond with the present number of miniatures, suggesting a frontispiece.

Decoration: Eight- or nine-line miniatures. Six-line initial in blue with red flourishing at beginning of text. Three- or two-line blue laisse header initials with red flourishing; these, however, do not consistently mark the beginning of a laisse, but, rather, appear at the point where the image has

A = Peacock Master B = Scat Master

[Beginning of <i>Voeux</i> : I-III ⁸] missing	III [VI]: 17-24v
I [IV] 1-8v	17: B/A 18: A? 18v: B? 19: A 19v: miniature; A 20v: B 21: B 22: A 22v: A 23: A 23v: B/A 24: B 24v: B/A
II [V]: 9-16v 8v: remnants of writing in bas-de-page	IV [VII]: 25-32v 24v: CATCHWORD
9: A 9v: A 10: A? 10v: A 11: A 11v: A 12: A? 12v: A 13v: A 14: A 14v: A 15: A 16: A 16v: A	25v: miniature; A 26: B/A 26v: B/A 27: B 27v: A 28: A 28v: B 29: B 29v: B/A 30v: miniature; A 31: B 32: miniature; A 32v: A

Chart 13. Codicological structure and disposition of artists in the Glazier Peacock.

V [VIII]: 33-40v

32v: remnants of writing in bas-de-page

33: *B*34: *B*34v: miniature; *B*35: *B*35v: *B*36: miniature; *B*36v: *B*37: *B*37v: miniature; *B*38v: *B*39: *B*39v: *B*40: *B/A*

VI [IX]: 41-48v

40v: viii + CATCHWORD

41: *A*41v: *A*42: *A*42v: *A*43: *B/A*43v: miniature; *B*

44: large miniature

44v: *B/A*45: *B*45v: *B/A*46: *B*46v: *B*47v: *B / A*48: *A*48v: *A*

VII [X]: 49-56v

49v: *B*50: *B*50v: *B*51: *B*51v: *B*52: miniature; *B*52v: *B*53v: *B*54: *B*54v: *B/A*55: miniature; *B*56: *B/A*56v: *B*

VIII [XI]: 57-64v

56v: remnants of writing and catchword in bas-de-page

57: *B*57v: *B*58: *B*58v: *B 59*59v: *A*60v: *B*61v: *B*62: *B*62v: *B/A*63: *B*63v: *B*64: *B*64v: *B*

IX [XII]: 65-72v

64v: remnants of writing and catchword in bas-de-page

65: *B*65v: *B*66: *B*66v: *B*67: *B/A*67v: *B*68: *B*68v: *B*69: *B*69v: miniature; *B*70: *B*70v: *B*

71: B
71v
72: B
72v: B

X [XIII]: 73-80v
72v: remnants of writing in bas-de-page

73: A
73v: A
74v: B
75: B
75v: B
76v: B
77: B
77v: B
78v: B
79: B
79v: B
80: A
80v: miniature; A

XI [XIV]: 81-88v
80v: xiii + CATCHWORD

81: A
81v: A
82: A
82v: miniature; A
83: A
83v: A
84: A
84v: B
85: B
85v: miniature; A
86: miniature; A
86v: miniature; A
87: A
87v: A
88: miniature
88v: miniature; A

XII [XV-XVI]: 89-92
88v: remnants of writing and catchword
in bas-de-page

[10 fols] missing

89: B
89v: B
90: B
91: B
91v: B
92: B
92v: B

[2 fols] missing

XIII [XVII]: 93-100v

93v: B¹
94: B
94v: B
95: A
95v: miniature; B
98v: B
97: miniature; A
99: B
99v: B
100: B
100v: B

XIV [XVIII]: 101-108v
100v: catchword + xvii

102: A
102v: A
103v: B
104v: B/A
105v: B/A
106: A
106v: B/A
107: A

¹ Note that this quire has been misbound; the correct sequence is: fols. 93, 94, 96, 95, 98, 97, 99, 100.

<div>XV [XIX]: 109-116v</div> <div>108v: CATCHWORD +remnants of writing in bas-de-page</div> <div>109: B</div> <div>110: B</div> <div>110v: B</div> <div>111v: A</div> <div>113: A?</div> <div>113v: A</div> <div>114v: A</div> <div>115: B</div> <div>115v: B</div> <div>116: B</div>	<div>XVII [XXI]: 125-132v</div> <div>124v: xx + catchword</div> <div>125v: A</div> <div>126v: B/A</div> <div>127v: A</div> <div>[128 should precede 127; Casey, xii]</div> <div>129: A</div> <div>[130 should precede 129; Casey, xii]</div> <div>130v: A</div> <div>131: A</div> <div>131v: A</div> <div>132: A</div> <div>132v: A</div>
<div>XVI [XX]: 117-124v</div> <div>116v: xix + catchword</div> <div>117v: A</div> <div>118: B/A</div> <div>118v: B</div> <div>119: A</div> <div>119v: A</div> <div>120: A</div> <div>120v: A</div> <div>121: A</div> <div>121v: A</div> <div>122: A</div> <div>122v: B/A</div> <div>123: B</div> <div>123v: B</div> <div>124v: B/A</div>	<div>XVIII [XXII]: 133-140v</div> <div>132v: xxi + catchword</div> <div>133v: A</div> <div>134: A</div> <div>134v: A</div> <div>135v: B/A</div> <div>136v: B</div> <div>137: B</div> <div>137v: A</div> <div>138v: B/A</div> <div>139v: A</div> <div>140v: B/A</div> <div><div>XIX [XXIII]: 140v: remnants of writing in bas-de-page</div><div>141: decorative flourishing</div><div>141v: decorative flourishing</div><div>[to completeRestor: XXIV-XXV⁸] Missing</div></div>

been inserted, sometimes many lines into the *laisse*. François Avril and Lucy Freeman Sandler, private communication, found the forms of the letters distinctively English (especially the large initial 'D' and the lower case 'f').

Contents:

A recto	unidentified texts
A verso	signatures
B recto	signatures
B verso	coat of arms
C recto	unidentified Latin text
C verso	unidentified Latin text
D recto	unidentified English medical text
D verso	signatures
1-50v	<i>Voeux</i> incomplete: 41v 6648 – 42 7119 81 mins.
E-Fv	unidentified Latin text

Provenance: Suggestions for interpreting autographs on A-F (1928 Spencer dossier notes): Robert Vaughan de Hengwrt Merion (Hengwrt, 1592–1667) was a celebrated antiquary. Son of Howel Vaughan of Gwengraig and Margaret, second daughter and co-heir of Edward Owen of Hengwrt. Hengwrt was purchased from the Owen family by the Vaughans. The Vaughans of Cory Gedol – Carnovonshire. Robert, the antiquary, m. Catharine, de. of Gruffydd Nannau of Nannau, Esq. Griffith Vaughan, fourth of the name, eldest son of Richard Vaughan, m. Catrin Griffith, de. of William Griffith of Caernavon, whose fourth d., Janet, m. John Owen of Cleneau, afterwards Sir John Owen. Griffith Vaughan was sheriff of Merioneth, 1585–1604, died 1616. John Mostine, probably the John Mostyn of Mesynan, second son of Sir Roger Mostyn, Kt., and Lady Mary, d. of Sir John Wynn of Gwydir, b. 1602/3; was a Barrister of the Inner Temple; member of Parliament; attached to Charles I; d. 1675. The Mostyn family of Mostyn Hall was known for its unstinted patronage of the Welsh bards. Thomas Mostyn, eldest son and heir of Richard ap Howel, by Catrin Salusbury, was the grandson of Howel of Mostyn, third cousin of Henry VII and Margaret of Gloddaith, second cousin of Edmond Tudor. Thomas was the first of his family to be called by the name Mostyn (16th century). He married Sian (Jane), d. of Sir William Griffith, Kt., Chamberlain of North Wales. He died in 1558, about 75 years of age. His wife died aged 69 years. Griffith Wynne, of the Wynn family of Bodysgallen, from whom the Lord Mostyn (of 1920) was descended. Other autographs on fly-leaves are:

Thomas Johns de Wythley, Will Maners and George Maners; William Maurice, and John Owen. Arundell (c. 1600); "George Manners; Robert Vaughanof Hengwrt; William Maurice; John Owen; Thoms Johns escuier; Parguez de Wythley; Roos (with motto "a moy le mieux"); Griffith Wynne; Lord Mostyn Collection, sold: Sotheby's catalogue 13 July 1920, lot 126, p.26, with fig. ; to Frank M. Sabin, London; G. Wells" (de Ricci, *Census*, II: 1337, no. 9); purchased from G. Wells in 1920 for Spencer.

Literature: Fourth Report of Comm. on Hist. Manuscripts (1874), pp. 348–349, no. 54; Ritchie vol. 1 (1921), pp. xxv–xxvi; Ritchie vol. 2 (1927), p. xxxvii; *The Spencer Collection of Illustrated Books* (1928), pp. 40–41; Dossier at Spencer collection: notes dated 1928, Victor H. Paltsits; Seymour de Ricci, *Census of Medieval and Renaissance Manuscripts in the United States and Canada* (1937), II, 1337, no. 9; Dossier at Spencer collections: notes dated 1975, Jeffrey H. Kamowitz; Domenic Leo, catalogue entry, New York Public Library, *Splendor of the Word*, exh. cat., no. 90 (London, 2006), pp. 386–389.

Internet Resources: brief description with digitized images on the New York Public Library's Digital Gallery.

11. *Oxford, Bodleian, MS Douce 165* [S1]

France, c. 1340, (charts 7C, 8A, 9B; figs. 134–136)

Manuscript: Parchment; 246 fols.; 160 × 245 mm (textblock: 120 × 190 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Artist: Jeanne de Montbaston

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue with flourishing. Many of the miniatures are badly rubbed. The first, fol. 1, is seventeen lines with bar extenders, crude ivy leaves in blue, gold and coral; six-line initial in red and blue on gold. Subsequent miniatures are eleven-line accompanied by two-line painted and gold initials. Frames of miniatures have gold ivy leaves with balls. The *Restor*, fol. 138, and *Parfait*, fol. 183, begin, respectively with a four-line blue and red initial filled with sycamore and ivy leaves on gold, and a five-line initial in red and blue frame on gold.

Contents:

- 1–137v *Voeux*
nine mins.; rubrics are in part notated in Ritchie, pp. xxix–xxx
- 138–182v *Restor*
two mins.
- 183–246v *Parfait*: (lacking last two leaves)
one min.

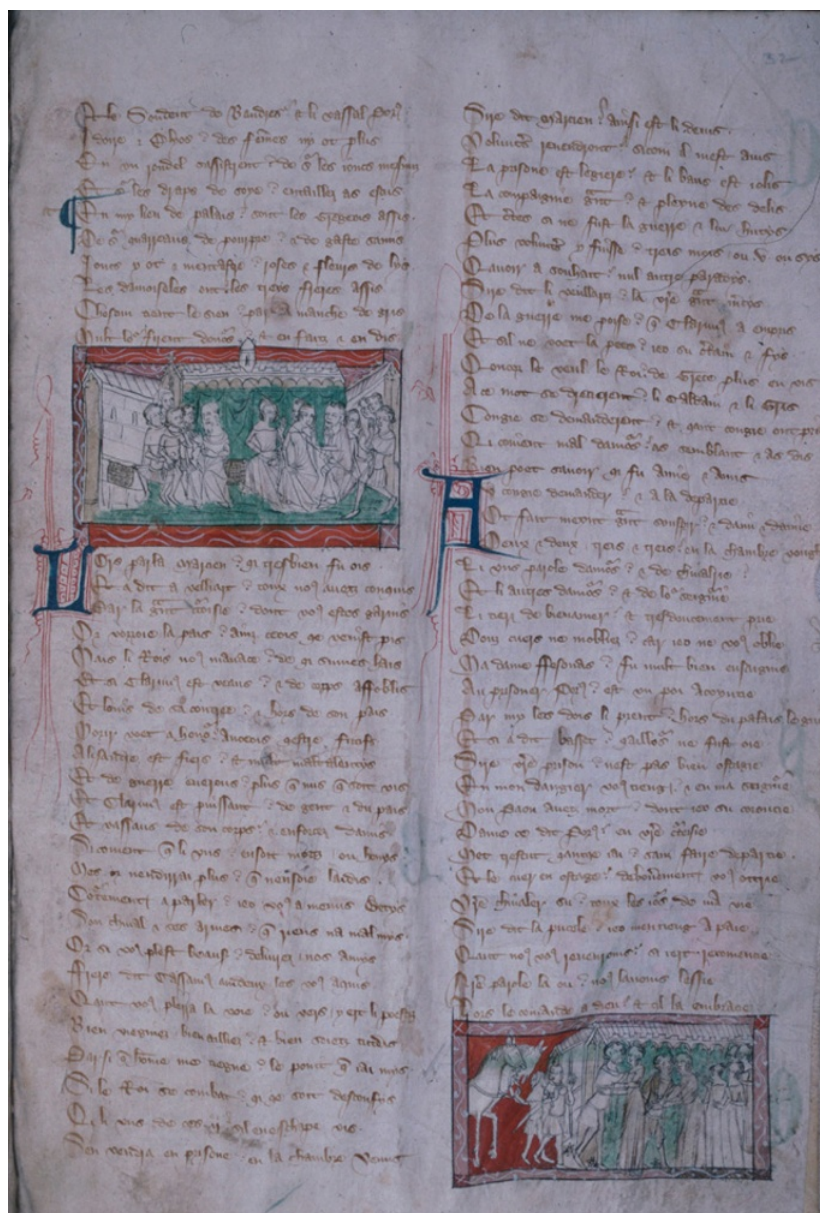


Fig. 131. New York Public Library, Spencer Rare Book Collection, MS 9, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 32, The Chamber of Venus (photo with permission: New York Public Library).

Literature: *Catalogue of the Printed Books and Manuscripts Bequeathed by Francis Douce, Esq., to the Bodleian Library, Oxford* (Oxford, 1840), p. 27; Ritchie 2, pp. xxix–xxx; Ritchie 3, pp. xxxiii–xxxv; Ross, *Alexander Historiatus*, p. 15; Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. 1, (Oxford, 1966), no. 599, p. 47 as XIV¹; Restor 1, p. 19; D.J.A. Ross, "Review of P.J. Carey, ed. Jean le Court dit Brisebare, *Li Restor du Paon*," *Medium Aevum* 37 no. 1 (1968), pp. 81–82; Parfait, pp. 26–27, et *passim* (dans le dialecte de l'Ile de France avec des traits picards marqués, p. 27); Oxford, *The Douce Legacy*, exh. cat., The Bodleian Library, 1984: discussed on p. 144 in light of the coarse green velvet binding executed for Douce along with Douce manuscripts 199 (Item 95), 319, 353 and 369; Restor 2, pp. 19–20; Rouse (1997), pp. 281–303.

12. *Oxford, Bodleian, MS Douce 308* [P₁]

Metz (Lorraine), c. 1312, (figs., 137–139)

Manuscript: Parchment; 272 × 188 mm (textblock: 160 × 183 mm); two columns of thirty lines.

Artist: The figures are white ground with black scratchy lines, lighter than the Rennes *Rose Master*, with blue eyes, scarlet dab to the lips and orange dabs on lower cheeks. Thin, wobbly lines, oftentimes crude dark lines for drapery folds which match the heavy black silhouettes. The use of color, apart from the blue, purple-scarlet and orange of robes, is quite distinctive; for example: the green architecture with red 'mortar' lines on fol. 1; the silvered architecture on fol. 61v; the blue or orange horses with white dappling; grass in green with white and black dashes; window panes in green lozenges; blue added to hair for aged figures; vair depicted with blue in detail; silver for armor. The backgrounds vary. Those in gold are sometimes strewn with red and white roses; those which are painted can be blue with a dark blue grid with white and orange dots or pink with a scarlet grid and orange and white dots. Frames are blue, orange and pink-scarlet. Gold or silver balls are atop architecture or pavilions. The *Voeux* opens and closes with two-frame miniatures with related compositions: in the first, two armies meet at Ephésou, in the last, two armies part. The opening scene, however, appears to have been created with some difficulty as a combination of two separate miniatures: the two groups are divided by a horizontal line which crops the heads of the horses on either side. Above the frame of the miniature is an architectural arcade



Fig. 135. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, *Restor du paon*, fol. 138, det., The golden peacock (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

executed in pen. Traces of bas-de-page sketches appear on fols. 5, 19, 57, 58 and 107.

Decoration: ten-line miniatures, single-column with the exception of the first which is double-column; seven-line miniatures on fols. 33, 34, 35v; all with tendrils at corners of frames. two-line gold *laisse* header initials with blue flourishing. Four-line initial at the beginning.

Contents: "Five short illustrated manuscripts or booklets, bound together, originally also included BL Harl. ms. 4972, which would have formed the first part of section E" (Oxford, p. 60). Pächt and Alexander, p. 46, identify three hands.

- 1–85 A, *Voeux* here called the *li Romans de Cassamus* + 3 blank leaves
145 mins.



Fig. 136. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, *Restor du paon*, fol. 183, A teacher and student (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

- 86^a–106 B, *Bestiaire d'Amour*, Richard de Fournival, here called *Li arriere bans damor* (fol. 106v) + 3 blank leaves
- 107–139v C, *Tournoi de Chauvenci*, Jacques Bretel + the blank leaf 144^a
- 140–250^a D, *Chansonniier* I, shortly after 1320 with blank leaves after fols. 195, 237 and 250^a
- 250^{cr} [Fragment] *Prophétie de la Sybille* “this fragment of text belongs with BL Harl. ms. 4972, an illustrated Apocalypse in Frech prose with glosses, followed by the Sibyl prophecy, with the last leaf missing. Folio 283 is an original flyleaf.”
- 250^{cv}–282v E, *Le Tournoiement Antéchrist*, Huon de Méri (title on fol. 282v).

Provenance: owned by le Gournai (or Gornay) family, fifteenth century, “a leading family in Metz”; no. 3 in inventory of books inherited by Michel Chaverson, “maitre échevin,” in Metz in 1507 ad 1512, from his father-in-law François le Gournai (Bonnardot, *Lothr. Jahrb.* 6: 244, made this identification which is restated in Oxford, p. 62).

Literature: L.M.C. Randall, “A Medieval Slander,” *Art Bulletin* 42 (1960), p. 36, n. 106; M.D. Legge, *Anglo-Norman Literature and its Background* (Oxford, 1963), p. 343; Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library, Oxford*, vol. 1, (Oxford, 1966), no. 587, p. 46; Restor 1, p. 18 (second quarter of the fourteenth century, il est écrit en dialecte de Lorraine); P.M. de Winter, “Une réalisation exceptionnelle d'enlumineurs français et anglais vers 1300: le Bréviarie de Renaud de Bar, évêque de Metz,” *Actes du 103e Congrès national des sociétés savantes* (1978), (1980), pp. 29–30, 50, 62; A.W. Robertson, *The Service-Books of the Royal Abbey of Saint-Denis* (Oxford, 1991), p. 331; M. Atchison, *The Chansonniier of Oxford Bodleian MS Douce 308: Essays and Complete Edition of Texts* (London, 2005).

Internet Resources: fully digitized reproduction: http://bodley30.bodley.ox.ac.uk:8180/luna/servlet/detail/ODLodl~1~1~2843~102891:Les-Voeux-du-Paon-?sort=Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CROLL_&qvq=w4s:/who/Jacques+de+Longuyon/what/MS.+Douce+308;q:%3DDouce%2B308;sort:Shelfmark%2CFolio_Page%2CROLL_!lc:ODLodl~29~29,ODLodl~7~7,ODLodl~6~6,ODLodl~14~14,ODLodl~8~8,ODLodl~23~23,ODLodl~1~1,ODLodl~24~24&mi=0&trs=11.

13. *Oxford, Bodleian MS 264* [P]

Tournai? 1338–1344 (figs. 80, 88, 140–148)

The scribe finished his work on Dec. 18, 1338, and the illuminator Jehan de Gryse finished April 18, 1344

Manuscript: Parchment; 274 fols.; 287 × 410 mm (textblock: 233 × 310 mm); two columns of forty-six lines; five colophons on fol. 208, of which the first four are fourteenth century:

1. (Erased) *Chi definent le romans d'Alixandre li veu du pavon les acomplis/ semens li restors et le pris Explicit explicans liber/ scriptor eat*
2. *Chi define li romans du boin roi alixandre/ et les veus du pavon les acomplissemens/ le restor du pavon et le pris qui fu prescript/ le xviii ior de decembre lan m ccc xxxviii*
3. *Explicit iste liber scriptor sit crimine liber/ Xristus scriptorem custodiat ac det honorem*
4. (In gold letters and by a different hand than the above) *Che livre fu perfais de le enluminure/ au xviii jour davryl per iehan de/ grise lan de grace m ccc xliiii*

Decoration: There is great variety in the type of decoration and format. Ten- or eight-line historiated or decorated initials mark the sections beginning each new text, facing multi-frame and -register, full-page miniatures which play on an architectural conceit. The other miniatures are mostly twelve- or seventeen-line square, single column, but can also be: twelve-line or higher, double-column and rectangular; an entire single column, as the castle on fol. 20v; or stacked in a single column, as on fol. 42v. Laisse headings are articulated by two-line initials which are most often historiated with faces; and each verse header initial is marked with a red slash. Bar extenders in the lower and outer margins on pages with illumination bear interlace knots and sprays of sycamore and ivy in gold, orange, pink and blue. Spikey foliate sprays extend from initials. There are numerous birds and marginalia, the latter especially on pages with illumination and mostly in the the bas-de-page.

Artists: The project was executed by a group of three main artists, with 'emulators', all working in different styles. Of them, only two can be identified with any certainty by name: Pierart dou Tielt, whose work is documented elsewhere, and Jehan de Gryse, whose name appears in the colophon.¹⁵ There are three basic styles from which the others spring: Hand 1, dou Tielt, and Gryse (figs. 140, 141, 142). Dou Tielt and Gryse do the bulk of the work. Dou Tielt's major painting (miniatures of all sizes) extends from the fourth quire through the ninth quire. Gryse works on historiated initials and bas-de-page scenes in tandem with dou Tielt until



Fig. 137. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, *Voex du paon*, fol. 27, det., Playing the 'roy qui ne ment' (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 138. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, *Voex du paon*, fol. 27v, det., Fésonas and Cassiel play chess (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 139. Bodleian Library, MS Douce 308, *Voex du paon*, fol. 82v, det., The king washes his hands at the dinner table (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

the beginning of the tenth quire from which point he and his 'emulators' work until the twenty-sixth quire, the end of the manuscript.

Hand 1 has sophisticated compositions with dramatic attention to linear detailing and an interest in perspective. Fol. 21v is his sole painting of this size, and it is surely a masterpiece; for example, the knights' armor and the beautifully modeled surcoats and caparisons are remarkable elements in a dense, yet well-defined battle scene (figs. 140, 143). The use of foreshortening is most evident with the horses, which are depicted from multiple angles. The figures are well-proportioned with thin black lines used by the artist to pick out the eyes, nose and mouth against white skin. There is minimal use of a pale red wash to delineate jaw and cheekbone. Despite his superior talent, however, Hand 1 only plays a minor role. His work is relegated to the first three quires.

Dou Tielt's use of brown-red rather than black lines for facial features on his spry figures is a distinctive trait which is also used by his emulators. This separates them from the others who, as with Hand 1, use black. Dou Tielt also uses heavier washes than the other artists to model the faces. His attention to detail is also quite extraordinary. This comes to the fore with his taste for painting varieties of fashion details – such as buttons, stitching, and fretwork in shoes – and carefully executing patterns in textiles (figs. 141, 142).

Jehan de Gryse's work is easily identifiable. He paints figures with small heads on unnaturally attenuated torsos (figs. 88, 143–147). He oftentimes employs heavier silhouetting than the others, as with the gold peacock on fol. 173 (fig. 148).

The full-page miniature for the *Voeux* is missing, but the first page of the text remains. It begins with an eight-line historiated initial with Alexander the Great on his steed (fig. 146). The rubric above is misplaced. The image of the erotically charged game of chess between Fésonas and Cassiel the Baudrain, ended abruptly when Cassamus hurls a pillow at the board, on fol. 127v, is not included in the text. Rather, the scene is part of a half-page miniature broken into four frames. Two of them depict two couples playing chess (fig. 145). The iconographic cycle for the *Restor* is split between bas-de-page scenes and intercalated miniatures. For example, on fol. 164v, Édéas stands watching two goldsmiths who are crafting different parts of the golden peacock in the bas-de-page, while on fol. 173, two couples admire the fully-fashioned peacock, which stands on a trestle table (figs. 147, 148).

¹⁵ See Appendix 2 for a checklist of manuscripts painted by dou Tielt.

Contents: The full page miniatures on fols. 1 and 2v are fifteenth-century additions, the frontispieces of the two works at the end of the manuscript. James has the transcriptions of marginal notations for the illuminators (from description of mins., pp. 11–50; on rubrics see p. 7).

- 3–208 *Roman d'Alixandre* (Lambert li Tors and after him Aléxandre de Bernai, named on 47v) incorporating the following interpolations:
 87 min, three historiated initials, seven solo bas-de-page scenes: 3 (historiated initial), 20v (min. and full-column min.), 21v (full-page), 22 (bas-de-page), 42va/b (stacked one atop the other), 43v (full-page), 44 (bas-de-page), 49, 50, 51v (full-page), 52 (historiated initial), 54v, 55, 55v, 56, 56v, 57a, 57b, 57v, 58, 59, 60, 61, 61v (bas-de-page), 62, 62v, 63, 63v, 64, 64v, 65, 66a, 66b, 66v, 67 (bas-de-page), 67v (full-page), 68 (bas-de-page), 68v, 69, 69v, 70, 70v, 71v, 72, 72v, 73, 73v, 74, 74v, 75, 75v, 76, 76v, 77, 77v (bas-de-page), 78 (and historiated initial), 78v, 79a, 79b, 79v, 80v, 81, 81v, 82a, 82b, 82v, 83 (bas-de-page), 83va, 83vb, 84, 84v, 85v, 86, 88v (full-page), 89 (bas-de-page), 90, 90v, 91, 91v, 92, 92v, 93, 94v, 95, 95v, 96, 96v, 97, 97v, 98a, 98b, 98v, 99v, 100a, 110b
- 101v–109v *Prise*, begun:
 eleven miniatures, one historiated initial, one solo bas-de-page scene: 101v (full-page), 102 (bas-de-page), 104, 105, 106, 107a, 107b, 108a, 108b, 108v, 109, 109v (and historiated initial)
- 110–163 *Voeux*: lacking frontispiece, 110bis, and 134bis
 sixty-nine miniatures, marginalia and historiated initials: of which 119 (double-column), 127v (four-part miniature), and 129v (double-column)
- 164v–182v *Restor* (the author, Brisebarre, is named on fol. 165): lacking frontispiece to Part II and 174bis
 three solo bas-de-page scenes, one historiated initial, twenty-one miniatures; images often appear at the head of a *laisse* or at the top of a column: 164v, 165: bas-de-page, 167, 167v, 168, 168va, 168vb, 169, 169v, 170a (historiated initial), 170b, 170v, 171a, 171b, 171v: bas-de-page, 172, 172va, 172vb, 173, 174 (double column), 175: bas-de-page, 180v, 181va, 181vb: 28, 182

- 182v–185 *Prise*, completed
 three miniatures: 183 (bas-de-page), 183va, 183vb, 184
 (bas-de-page), 184v
- 185–188 *Roman*, continued: *Voyage to Paradise*
 four mins.: 185, 185v, 186a, 186b
- 188v–196 *Les regres dalixandre*
 six mins.: 188v, 189, 190, 191, 191v, 193
- 196v–208 *Vengeance de Boin Roy Alixandre* (author, Jehan li Nouviaus
 Hoirs, named on fol. 197)
 six mins.: 196v, 197, 197v, 198v, 201, 204

The following were bound in during the fifteenth century before 1466

- 209–215v *Alliterative Romance of Alexander*
 nine mins.
- 218–271v *Li Livres du graunt Caam*, Marco Polo, written in the fifteenth
 century
 thirty-eight mins.

Provenance: Perhaps to be identified with the “large livre en Fraunceis bien enluminez de la Rymance d’Alexandre” valued at 16s 8d in the 1397 inventory of Thomas of Woodstock’s goods at Pleshey (Pächt and Alexander, no. 297; Alexander, 1983, pp. 159–60); Purchased 1 January 1466 by Richart de Wydeville, Lord of Rivers (perhaps the 3rd earl, d. 1491), father-in-law of Edward IV (French note inside the last cover); Thomas Smythe (f. 215v) may have owned it before or after deWydeville; Jasper Fyloll (c.1530 wrote a treatise “Agaynst the possesyons of the Clergye”; inside first cover); Sir Gyles Strangways of Melbury Sampford in Dorset (d. 1547) and his son Sir Giles (d. 1562) (f.2 and in a later hand f.ii, etc.); in the Bodleian in 1605, and, not being in the register of donations was probably given by Bodley [the whole taken from B. Nicholson, 1890; handwritten and appended to the manuscript].

Literature: Langlois, “Rédaction françaises du Livre de Marco Polo,” H.L.F. 35: 238–259, 646; E.C. Armstrong, *The Medieval French Roman d’Alexandre*; K. Hoang Thi, ed., “Edition critique de la version française du Livre de Marco Polo,” thèse, Ecole des Chartes (1967), pp. 51–56; E.B. Ham, *Jehan de Nevelois, La Venjance Alixandre*, Elliott Monographs, 27: xxii–xxv; E. Baléman, *Gui de Cambrai: Le Vengement Alixandre*; F.P. Magoun, *The Gestes of King Alexander of Macedon* (Cambridge, 1929); Peckham and La Du, *La Prise de Defur et le Voyage d’Alexandre au Paradis Terrestre*, (1935), pp. xii, liii; Långfors, les incipit, p. 18; E. Millar, *English Illuminated*

Manuscripts of the XIVth and XVth Centuries, figs. 86–87; G. Raynaud, "Compte rendu de A.E. Nordenskiöld, Le livre de Marco Polo, facsimilé d'un manuscrit du XIVe siècle conservé à la Bibliothèque royale de Stockholm," *Romania* 11 (1882), pp. 429–430; P. Meyer, "Étude sur les manuscrits du Roman d'Alexandre," *Romania* 11 (1882), pp. 213–332; Ritchie 2, pp. xxvi–xxix; Ritchie 3, pp. xvii–xxi; M.R. James, *The Romance of Alexander, A ColloTYPE Facsimile of MS Bodley 264*, (Oxford, 1933); E. Aeschiliann and P. d'Ancona, *Dictionnaire des miniaturistes* (Milan, 1940), p. 101; C.C. Olson, "The Minstrels at the Court of Edward III," *PMLA* 56 (1941), p. 611, n. 57; H. Bober, "Flemish Miniatures from the Atelier of Jean de Grise," *Revue Belge d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'art* 17 (1947–1948), pp. 15–21; R. Bernheimer, *Wildmen in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, 1952), p. 204, n. 23; H. Janson, *Apes and Ape Lore* (London, 1952), pp. 158, n. 5, 188–93, n. 17–8, 25–6, 31, 33, 48, 54, 57, 197, n. 98–100, pl. 25a (fol. 110); D.J.A. Ross, "Nectanebus in His Palace: A Problem of Alexander Iconography," *JWCI* 15 (1952), pp. 67–8, 70–1; London, Royal Academy, *Flemish Art*, exh. cat. (1953), no. 560; L. Stone, *Sculpture in Britain: Middle Ages* (London, 1955), p. 256, n. 63; Randall, "Exempla in Gothic Marginal Illumination," fig. 1 (fol. 79); L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts*, vol. 2 (1965), p. 161 (fols. 220, 249v); Otto Pächt and J.J.G. Alexander, *Illuminated Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library Oxford*, vol. 1, (Oxford, 1966), no. 297, pp. 22–23; IMGM, figs. 104, 127, 164, 332, 356, 374, 392, 407, 408, 417, 445, 528, 560, 585, 586, 590, 599, 688, 712, 715; Restor 1, p. 18; R. Branner, "The Saint-Quentin Rotulus," *Scriptorium* 20 (1967), p. 258; J. Plummer, *Manuscripts from the Glazier Collection* (New York, 1967), p. 21; M. Meiss, *The Boucicaut Master* (1968), p. 149, n. 14; O. Pächt and U. Jenni, *Die illuminierten Handschriften und Inkunabeln der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, vol. 3, Holländische Schule (Vienna, 1975), Textband, 11; K. Secomska, "The Miniature Cycle in the Sandomiers *Pantheon* and the Medieval Iconography of Alexander's Indian Campaign," *JWCI* 38 (1975), pp. 60, 63, 69; G. Guddat-Figge, *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Middle English Romances* (1976), no. 71, pp. 252–5; Oxford, Bodleian Library, *Medieval Music*, exh. cat. (Oxford, 1976); R. Hausherr, "Die Chorschrankenmalereien des Kölner Doms," pp. 53–4; Restor 2, p. 14–16; J. Baltrušaitis, *Réveils et prodiges. Le gothique fantastique* (Paris, 1981), pp. 211–212, fig. 12b, 355–356, n. 16; P. Menard, "L'illustration du Devisement du Monde de Marco Polo. Etude d'iconographie comparée," in *Métamorphoses du récit de voyage* (Paris, 1986), pp. 17–31; W. van Hoecke, "La littérature française d'inspiration arthurienne dans les anciens Pays-Bas," *Arturus Rex* 1 (1987), pp. 224–225; M. Camille, *The Gothic Idol*,

153–154; J. Griffiths and D. Pearsall, eds., *Book Production and Publishing in Britain 1375–1475* (Cambridge, 1989), pp. 56, 58, 60, 64, 96, 108, 175, 192; M. Camille, *Image on the Edge*, figs. 60, 67; *Readings in Medieval English Romance* (Cambridge, 1994): 213–4, n.17, 215; Rouse and Rouse, “The Peacock,” pp. 282, n. 5, 296, n. 68; the most recent and comprehensive study of this manuscript is Mark Cruse, *Illuminating the ‘Roman d’Alexandre’: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264*, (Cambridge, 2011).

Internet Resources: digitized reproduction in full on the website Luna.

Quire	folio ¹	Hand 1	Pierart / Asst.	Jehan de Gryse / Asst.
1-3	3	3-19		
	<u>20v</u>	initial		min, bdp
	21v	21-25v		
4-6	26			
	42v		min, bdp	initials
	<u>43v</u>		bdp	min
	44			44-48v
	49		min and large initial	49-51 initials
7	50		min	
	51		min	
	<u>51v</u>		min	
	52		min, bdp	52-55 initials
	54v		min, bdp	initials
	55v		min	initials, bdp,
	56			56-56v
	57		min	initial
	57v		min	
8	58		58-59	
	59v		59v-65	
	62		min	initials
	64		min, bdp	intials
	65v			initials
9	66		66-67 min, bdp	
	<u>67v</u>		min	67v-68 initials, bdp
	68v		min, bdp	initials
	69			initials, bdp
	69v		min, bdp, marginalia	initials
	70			70-73v
	72v		min, large initial, bdp	initials

¹ Underlining designates a large or full-page miniature.

Quire	folio	Pierart / Asst.	6. Gryse
10	74	74 - 74v	74-74v bdp
	75		75-207
	76v		X
	77		X
11	82		X
	84v		X
	<u>88v</u>		X
12	90		X
13	98		X
	<u>99v</u>		X
	<u>101v</u>		X
14-26	106		X
	<u>119</u> , <u>127v</u> , <u>164v</u> , <u>188v</u> , <u>196v</u>		X

Chart 14. Codicology and artists in the Bodleian Alexander.

14. *Paris, BnF, MS fr. 790 (anc. 7190⁵) [Q]*

Paris, c. 1312 (charts 5B, 7A; fig. 4)

Manuscript: Parchment; 199 fols.; 225 × 305 mm (text block: 174 × 242 mm); two columns of forty lines.

Artist: Thomas de Maubeuge

Decoration: nine-line, single-column miniatures. Laisse header initials alternating in red and blue with, respectively, blue or red flourishing; six-line champie initial at the beginning of each new text with red and blue grounds, filled with orange-red sycamore leaves on a gold background.

Contents:

- 1–98v *Roman d'Alixandre*
 eighteen mins.
99–107v *Prise de Defur*
 one min.
107v–163 *Voeux*
 twelve mins.

163–179 *Roman* (cont.)
two mins.

179v–191v *Vengeance d'Alixandre*
one min.

192–199 *Restor*
fol. 192: nine-line red and blue painted and flourished initial

Literture: E.B. Ham, *Jehan de Nevelon, La Vengeance Alixandre*; Restor 1, p. 19 (mid fourteenth century; the language has some picardisms); A. Stones, "Stylistic Context."

Provenance: Jacques de Bourbon, comte de la Marche et de Castres, roi de Hongrie, de Jérusalem et de Sicile (d. 1438) and his grandson, Jacques d'Armagnac, duc de Nemours et comte de la Marche (d. 1477); colophons on fol. 191v: "Ce rommans est de très hault et très puissant prince le roy de Hongrye, de Jherusalem et de Sicille, conte de la Marche, etc. Et depuys au duc de Nemours, conte de la Marche, son fils, Jaques. Pour Castres. Ce livre a ciiii^{xx} xi feuilles, histoires xxxiiii." (transcribed, Delisle, 1, p. 87); Cangé, who also owned [N], bought this at Anet's sale in 1724 (Ritchie, xxxiv) and added the last eight leaves, later in date, from another mss as noted in the upper margin of f. 192 (the quire of eight with the *Restor*, of c. 1350, was added in the eighteenth century by Cangé).

Internet Resources: all miniatures digitized on Mandragore: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>.

15. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 791 (anc. 7190^{5.5})* [N]

Paris, 1340s

Manuscript: Parchment; 167 fols.; 225 × 315 mm (textblock: 190 × 258 mm); two columns of forty-two lines.

Artist: One artist working in a Pucellian style with delicate brown lines for features, colors often applied in thin washes and attempts at three-dimensionality via shadows as with the bridge on fol. 58.

Decoration: single-column, fifteen-line square miniatures (sometimes larger); six-line champie initials; two-line laisse header initials alternating in red and blue with minimal flourishing; initial scribe is supplemented by a crude hand which made many errors, and wrote in wobbly columns on poorly ruled folios, perhaps indicatory that the manuscript was hastily finished.



Fig. 140. Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 264, *Roman d'Alexandre*, Hand 1, fol. 21v, det., Alexander (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

Fig. 141. Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 264, *Roman d'Alexandre*, Pierart dou Tielt, fol. 69v, det., Alexander (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 142. Bodleian Library, Bodley MS 264, *Roman d'Alexandre*, Pierart dou Tielt, fol. 69v, det., A flower-maiden gestures as a man removes his capuchon (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 143. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Roman d'Alexandre*, fol. 21v (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 144. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Voeux du paon*, Jehan de Gryse(?), fol. 127v, det., Musician (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 145. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Voeux du paon*, Jehan de Gryse(?), fol. 127v, det., Fésonas and Cassiel play chess while a musician plays a portative organ (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

Contents:

- 1–119 *Roman d’Alexandre*
 ten mins.
 119–167 *Voeux* (misbound; should follow fol. 92)
 one min.

Literature: Romania 31, p. 390; 52, p. 527; Ritchie 2, pp. xxxv–xxxvi; Ritchie 3, p. x; Peckham and la Du (1935), pp. xii, lii; A. Henry, “Etude sur les sources du Roman d’Alexandre de Lambert li tors,” Romania 62 (1936), p. 433, n. 1; A. Henry, “Pierre de St.-Cloud et le Roman d’Alexandre,” Romania 62 (1936), pp. 108–109.

Provenance: Cangé

Internet Resources: all miniatures digitized on Mandragore: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>.

16. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 1590 (anc. 7611) [S]

Paris, c. 1312 (chart 5C)

Artist: Thomas de Maubeuge

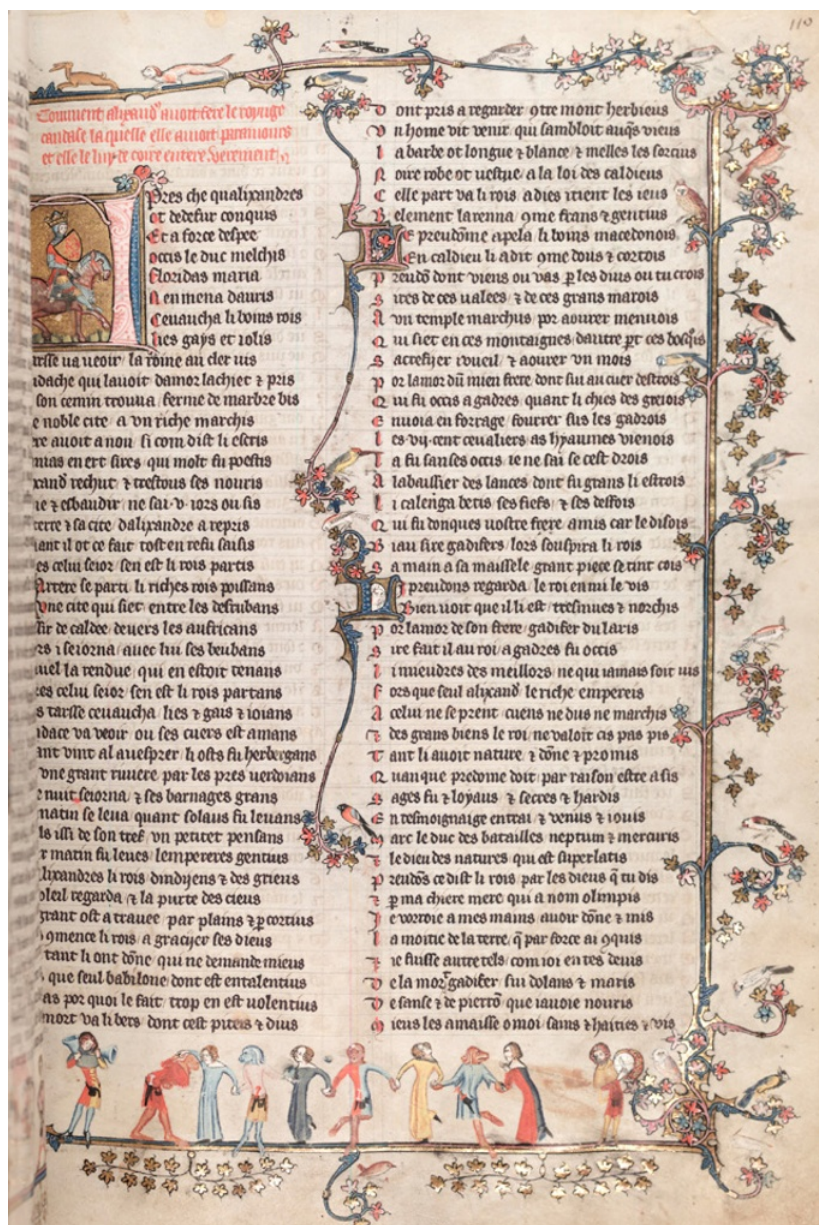


Fig. 146. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Voie du paon*, fol. 110, Opening folio for the *Voie* (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 147. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Restor du paon*, fol. 164v, det., Goldsmiths at work on the peacock (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).



Fig. 148. Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 264, *Restor du paon*, fol. 173, det., The golden peacock (photo with permission: The Bodleian Library).

Manuscript: Parchment; 147 fols.; 215 × 295 mm (textblock: 178 × 241 mm); two columns of forty lines.

Decoration: Single-column, ten-line miniatures bearing foliate bar extenders with trilobate leaves. two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue. Numerous three-line *champie* initials in red and blue frames filled with scrolling leaves in pink-orange on gold.

Contents:

1–84v *Les Regrets d'Alexandre* (incomplete at beginning):

85–95v *Vengeance*

twenty mins.: on fol. 79v there is a two-line *bas-de-page* illuminator's note: *comment alixandres....sercueil....grant...;* above is a miniature of a shrouded coffin surrounded with candles and mourners.

96–145v *Voeux*

three mins.

Literature: Ritchie 2, p. xxxviii; Ritchie 3, p. xxxii; A. Stones, "Stylistic Context."

Provenance: fols. 1–2 and 146–147 are covered in scrawl in a later hand; the names Nicolas Fontaine and Nicolas Rideau are copied repeatedly on fols. 1–2; Nicolas Rideau appears as well on fol. 16 (lower margin) and 29 (upper margin).

17. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2136 (anc. 7973) [S3]*

Northern France, c. 1320 (chart 4C)

Artist: Rennes *Rose* atelier

Manuscript: Parchment; 153 fols.; 160 × 235 mm (textblock: 93 × 160 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Decoration: The first miniature is sixteen-line square with a six-line initial; the second eight-line rectangular. three-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue with flourishing; a descender, following the color of the initial, is flanked on the left by alternating two-line red and blue lines. The top and bottom of each column bear sprays of penwork in red or black.

Contents:

- 1–138 *Voeux*
 two mins.
 139–152v *Chastelaine de Vergy*
 one min.

Literature: G. Raynaud, ed., *La chastelaine de vergi*, third ed. (Paris), p. iv; R.E. Line Stuipe, ed., *La Chastelaine de Vergi. Edition critique du ms. B.N., fr. 375* (La Haye: 1970).

Provenance: on fol. 138: *Iste liber est Petri de duing/ Iste liber est richardi de duria Vicelli / Iste liber est heredis domini Petri domini de duing de veteri castro/ Et mihi alchando* (transcribed by Ritchie 3, xxxvi); arms of Louis de Bruges.

18. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2165–2166 (anc. 7989 and 7990) [Qr]*

Paris, 1360s and c. 1400, (fig. 149)

Manuscript: Parchment: 2165: 106 fols.; 2166: 95 fols.; 167 × 225 mm (text-block: 104 × 179 mm); one column of thirty-two lines.

Artists: The frontispiece in ms. 2165 was executed c.1400 by an artist similar, if not the same, to the one in [P2]. The first fourteenth-century hand uses brown, pale orange and white to delineate and model the features over a flesh wash for the face; hair is brown or blond, and clothing is pink, orange and green. The grounds are decorated with delicate gold rinceaux. François Avril compares this hand to one of the artists working on the *Bible moralisée* of Jean le Bon, a less talented version of the assistant to the Master of the *Remède de Fortune*, and dates the work to the “early 1360s, before the reign of Charles V.” The second hand, much less talented than the first, appears in 2166 on fol. 64 and is characterized by elongated figures with a distinctive use of pink for flesh, and orange and brown lines for eyes and hair.

Decoration: six-line gilded, painted initial to begin, two-line alternating blue and red *laisse* header initials with delicate flourishing; on pages with miniatures there are bar extenders with sprays of maroon, green, orange and gold sycamore and trilobate leaves with gold balls; pale red 6-line *champie* initial on gold ground with blue coiling stem and red sycamore leaves.

Contents:

2165

1–106 *Voeux*, begun
three mins.

2166

1–32v *Voeux*, cont.
one min.

32v–63v *Restor*
one min.

64–95v *Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*, Guillaume de Machaut
one min.

Literature: Ritchie, 2, pp. xxix–xl; A. Thomas, “Jacques de Longuyon, trouvère,” *HLF* 36 (1927), p. 21; Ritchie, 3, pp. xxx–xxxi; Restor 1, p. 19 (fifteenth century); Restor 2, pp. 18–19; E. Hoepffner, ed., *Oeuvres de Guillaume de Machaut* (Paris, 1908), pp. xlv ff; R.B. Palmer, ed. and trans., Guillaume de Machaut, *The Judgment of the King of Bohemia* (*Le Jugement dou Roy de Behaingne*) (New York, 1984); L. Earp, *Guillaume de Machaut: A Guide to Research*, (New York, 1995), with comprehensive bibliography, no. 31, pp. 106–107, 138, 149, 207.

Provenance: Count Philippe de Béthune (d. 1649), arms and monogram on binding (see Earp, 1995, pp. 106–107).

Internet Resources: all miniatures digitized on Mandragore: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>.

19. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 12565 (anc. suppl. fr. 254¹⁹) [W]*

Northern France, late 1340s (figs. 10, 11, 150–159)

Manuscript: Parchment; 297 fols.; 180 × 264 mm (textblock: 105 × 177 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Decoration: twelve-line miniatures. The frontispiece has a four-line initial filled with coral sycamore leaves on gold and a bar extender with ivy and sycamore leaves; two-line *laisse* header *champie* initials in gold alternating colors for the fill and exterior in blue and red, the whole sometimes on a gold ground in the presence of a miniature.

Artists: This manuscript has four artists, two working together up to fol. 233, and the others on the remaining portion. The secondary decoration changes with the artists to some degree. The Parisian-style bar extenders and pink ivy and sycamore leaves, from fols. 1–23, associated with Hand A, change with the work of Hand B, who includes rabbits and dragons in his initials and uses a leaf type with sharply pointed trilobate gold, blue and pink leaves with scratchy tendrils, as on fol. 26. In this last example, a foliate bar extender terminates in the lower right corner in a curl of pink stem with a quadrupartite, square blue interlaced knot on gold. This decorative vocabulary has resonances in North-Eastern French illumination: for example, the whorls of brightly colored leaves in manuscripts from the region of Lorraine (Avril, *Les Rois maudits*, pp. 314–317, esp. no. 214). Hand C uses comparatively larger clusters of three sycamore leaves with pronounced ‘digits’. Two distinct trends in clothing style appear: one is the pre-1340s fashion phase of Hand B, where, despite the vair tippets and boatnecks, the tunic line is mid-calf; C uses the later trend of shorter tunics.

There are four marginal sketches. Three are executed in ink on: 14v, a shield(?), with no rapport with image; 53 and 99, arches, which correspond to the building in the miniature. On fol. 116, in graphite, a knight(?) with a spear, on the left, speaks to a king and man, on right, with seemingly no rapport with the miniature where three ladies in the Chamber of Venus, left, receive three men, right. A marginal notation in the bas-de-page of fol. 233v relates the subject matter of the miniature, reading: *or dost avoir le roy alexandre assis en une chaire/ comment il parle au peuple de [tous cotes?]* (Here should be the king Alexander seated on a throne, speaking to the people around him).

Hand A: fols. 2v, 8, 14v, 18v, 23: The artist on 2v shows an interest in depicting three-dimensional architecture. The inventively constructed castle is white with gray shadows. Delicacy of line and finesse of detail are found on armor, clothing, drapery folds, and elements such as the wrought iron tracery on the wooden door (fig. 151).

The frontispiece is executed in a more delicate style with greater attention to detail and more complex, ‘finished’ applications of layers of paint (fig. 150). The knit brow of the soldier at far left and the expressive eyes of the emperor and knights are striking. The artist who painted the frontispiece combines various idiosyncratic elements from more than one fellow artist, such as the red outline of the cheekbones (Hand B). I believe that it is the work begun by one artist and finished by another. In comparison, the following folios go ‘flat’ and lack the build-up of color on fol. 1v.



Fig. 149. BnF, fr. 2165–2166, *Voie du paon*, fol. 61v, Porrus shoots the peacock (photo with permission: BnF).

Here, the figures have white faces, and blue-gray dominates for armor and cloaks coupled with red-orange and navy.

Hand B, 'The Cheekbone Master': fols. 10v, 15v, 17, 17v, 20v, 21v, 26–233: The idiosyncratic use of a red-brown wash on a white face to demarcate the underside of the cheekbone with daubs of bright orange on cheeks easily identifies this artist. He paints his architectural structures with a brilliant palette of sand, blue-grey, salmon, violet, and orange-red. Figures are attenuated with little attention to modeling or anatomy: see, for example, the horses' legs on fol. 10v (fig. 152). As with Hand A, Hand B shows interest in the depiction of clothing styles and elements of everyday life. The ground is shown in 'cross-section' revealing the layers of grass and soil; this is coupled with the use of a clumpy rock motif. His figures have small, squinty eyes. The horses, however, have bulging eyes with large black pupils. This artist uses pink, lilac and powder blue in addition to other colors used by Hand A, especially in brilliant combinations in background diapering. He is responsible for all initials which immediately follow the miniatures he has executed. A comparison of facial types makes the difference between these artists clear (figs. 153, 154, 155).

Hand C, The Scissor Digits Master: The most talented artist in the Paris Peacock, the Scissor Digits Master, named for the leaf type with long sharp digits, worked from fol. 233v to the end. One miniature is executed with an assistant. His figures use unmodeled black lines in drapery folds, complex treatment of faces, with extra white added to the eyes and reddish shading on the eyebrows, and more developed anatomical types: for example, the slightly paunchy stomachs on some of the male figures. Contemporary fashions of luxury clothing are depicted in detail: vair-lined cloaks and backing for tippets, motley patterns, buttons on sleeves and capuchons, different purse types, and multi-layered ensembles. Scarlet is an essential color in this artist's palette.

The rapport between artist and/or patron and/or iconographer must have been pronounced because on fol. 233v, for the opening image of the *Parfait*, the artist represents the members of different segments of society. He is faithful to the text beneath the miniature.¹⁶

Hand D, 'Scissor Workshop': Appearing only once, on 260v, this artist displays his master's skillful technique and interest in clothing, but with

¹⁶ See my discussion of the text on p. 36.

more rounded faces, a lighter use of outlining, an additional application of red 'blush' to cheeks, and a distinctive use of yellow. The leaf type found with the Cheekbone Master's work on fol. 26 reappears here (figs. 158, 159).

Contents:

1–25v	<i>Prise</i> , (Melcis episode) twelve mins.
26–189	<i>Voeux</i> eighty mins.
189–233v	<i>Restor</i> ten mins.
233v–297v	<i>Parfait</i> six mins.

Literature: *Romania* 47, p. 452; 51, p. 160; 53, p. 445; Långfors, p. 18; F. Bonnardot, *Bulletin*, p. 113, n. 1; Meyer, pp. 247–322; BnF AS2, pp. 560–561; G. Doutrepont, *La littérature française à la cour des ducs de Bourgogne* (Paris, 1909), pp. 113, 134, n.1, 484; Fletcher; Ritchie 1 ([W] is the edition of the *Voeux*), pp. xlvii–xlvi, "...there can be no doubt that we possess verbatim the French original ...of our *Buick*...The *Voeux* has every appearance of being a replica of the author's copy, purged no doubt of some of his local peculiarities and made to conform more closely with standard French by a scribe of North or North-East France between 1340 and 1370"; Ritchie 2, pp. xl–xli; C. Bruneau and M. Prinnet, "compte rendu de M. Delbouille, ed., *Le Tournoie de Chauvency*," *Romania* 59 (1933), pp. 133–134; Peckham/La Du, pp. xii; *Manuscripts à peintures en France XIIIe–XVIe siècle*, exh. cat., Bibliothèque nationale (Paris, 1955), pp. no.104, p. 48 (as Normandy, c. 1350); S. La Du, "Fragments des *Voeux du Paon*," *Romania* 77 (1956), p. 79; Restor 1 (based on [W]); D.J.A. Ross, "Review of P.J. Carey, ed. Jean le Court dit Brisebare, *Li Restor du Paon*," *Medium Aevum* 37 no.1 (1968), pp. 81–83; *Parfait* (based on [W]), pp. 26–27, *passim* (dans le dialecte de l'Ile de France avec des traits picards marqués), p. 27); and studied in depth through p. 34); Restor 2, pp. 23–24; Patrick M. de Winters, no. 23, pp. 236–237. Bellon-Méguelle, *Du Temple de Mars*.

Provenance: Marguerite de Flandre, wife of Philippe le Hardi, duc de Bourgogne (1363–1404), no. 2133; Joseph Barrois, count of Ashburnham (see H. Collingham, "Joseph Barrois: Portrait of a Bibliophile," *The Book Collector* 33 no. 4 (1984), and H. Omont, *Liste des manuscrits récemment acquis de Barrois...*); Boulton, (1993), p. 298.

Internet Resources: all miniatures are digitized and available on Mandragore: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>.

20. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 12567 (anc. suppl. fr. 342) [U]*

Southern France? c. 1320–30, (figs. 160, 161)

Manuscript: Parchment; 205 fol.; 185 × 260 mm (textblock: 111 × 189 mm); one column of twenty-nine / thirty lines.

Artist: The figures are crudely drawn and painted in a flat palette of periwinkle, pink, cobalt and navy blue, mint-green, red, yellow (for hair) and ochre. Avril (private communication) notes that the knights' shields conform with Spanish types. The frontispiece (fig. 159) is compositionally related to BnF fr. MS 25521, fol. 1, and Bodleian Library, MS Douce 165, fol. 1 – both the work of Jeanne de Montbaston (Chart 9). The figures in MS [U], although provincial in comparison to the illumination coming from Paris, are arranged exactly as they are in Jeanne's two manuscripts: King Alexander, with one man to his side, and two men, all figures on horseback. Cassamus, in the garb of a pilgrim stands at far right. The hand gestures connote conversation. It also has related rubrics to MS [N1], the work of the Montbastons.

Decoration: The single-column miniatures are sixteen-line (fols. 2, 60v), ten-line (fol. 168v) and five-line (fol. 121). Two-line red *laisse* header initials. The first two texts commence with six-line red and blue initials with red, maroon and brown flourishes; the third with a three-line red initial. Though both Ritchie 1, p. xlii, "written in a bold Italian hand," and Ross, 1968, argue for a Northern Italian origin based on the scribe, François Avril (private communication) and Carey, believe the scribe to be from Southern France.

Contents: Donkin's collation, p. 22, reveals three secure losses of "presumably blank" leaves and possibly up to six leaves between fols. 112 and 113. She writes that the contents of [U] may indicate:

an edition of the *Fuerre* and the *Voeux* celebrating Gadifer the noble enemy who was slain by Emenidus in the *Fuerre* and with whose children Emenidus was finally reconciled after coming to their aid in the siege of Ephésion related in the *Voeux*...other indications are the Scottish *Buik* of Alexander... and the Latin manuscript, Vatican, Archivio di San Pietro 36 E...



Fig. 150. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Prise de Defur* (Melcis episode), fol. 1, det., Alexander arrives (photo with permission: BnF).

- 1–60v *Fuerre de Gadres*
 one min.
 60v–194 *Voeux*
 three mins.
 194 *Restor*: incomplete at beginning.

Literature: Meyer, pp. 247–322; BnF AS2, pp. 561–562; Ritchie 2, p. xlii; Ritchie 3, p. xxxviii; Restor 1, p. 19 (debut du 14; écrit par un scribe venant du Midi de la France); D.J.A. Ross, “Review of P.J. Carey, ed. Jean le Court dit Brisebare, *Li Restor du Paon*,” *Medium Aevum* 37 no.1 (1968), pp. 81, 82; Restor 2, pp. 22–23.

Provenance: signed “Desponsy, 1647” in lower margin of fol. 1; “Acheté pour la Bibliothèque [du Roi] chés M. de Coislin, l’evesque de Metz,” who was also the owner of [P6] (Ritchie 1, xlii).

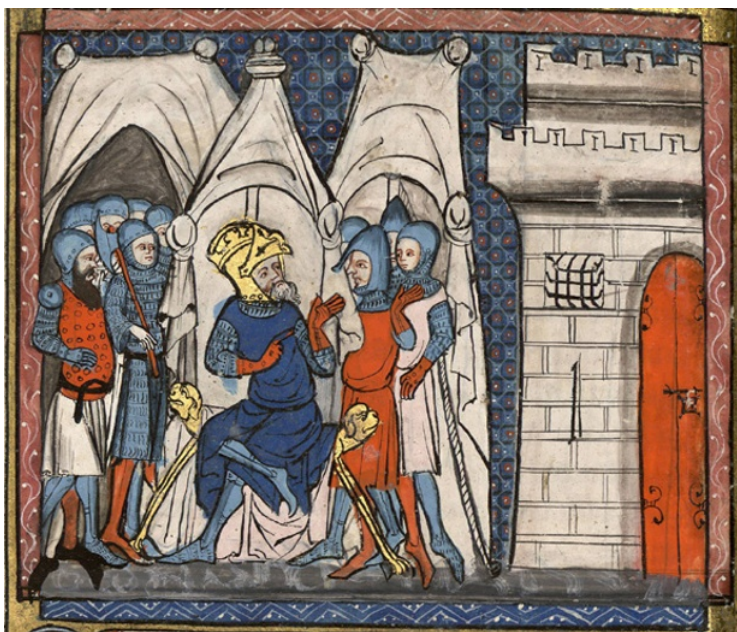


Fig. 151. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Prise de Defur* (Melcis episode), fol. 2v, det., Alexander speaks with his knights (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 152. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Prise de Defur* (Melcis episode), fol. 10v, det. (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 153. BnF, ms. fr. MS 12565, *Prise de Defur*, (Melchior episode), fol. 1, det., Multiple Artists(?), (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 154. BnF, ms. fr 12565, *Prise de Defur*, (Melchior episode), fol. 2v, det., Hand A (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 155. BnF, ms. fr 12565, *Prise de Defur*, (Melchior episode), fol. 10v, det., Hand B, 'The Cheekbone Master' (photo with permission, BnF).



Fig. 156. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Parfait du paon*, fol. 233v, det., Opening image for *Parfait* (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 157. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Parfait du paon*, fol. 260, det., Presentation of the golden peacock (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 158. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Parfait du paon*, fol. 233v, det., Hand C, 'The Scissor Digits Master' (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 159. BnF, ms. fr. 12565, *Parfait du paon*, fol. 260v, det., Hand D (photo with permission: BnF).

Internet Resources: all miniatures digitized on Mandragore: <http://mandragore.bnf.fr/jsp/rechercheExperte.jsp>.

21. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 14972 (*anc. suppl. fr. 579*) [*N4*]

N. France, c. 1320, (chart 4D)

Artist: Rennes Rose atelier

Manuscript: Parchment; 139 fols.; 163 × 230 mm (textblock: 100 × 160 mm); one column of thirty lines single-column.

Decoration: Decorative treatment flanking text on left in red and blue, as [S3], on folio 1; afterwards two-line laisse header initials alternating in red and blue. Six-line red and blue initial with flourishing on 65v [*Voeux*, Part 2]. This manuscript is very worn and has less elegant execution than others by the Rennes *Rose* Master

Contents:

1–139 *Voeux*
one min.

Literature: BnF, ms. AS3, p. 293; Ritchie 2, p. xlii; A. Thomas, “Jacques de Longuyon, trouvère,” *HLF* 36 (1927), p. 12; Ritchie 3, p. xi.a

22. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 24365 (anc. S. Victor 420) [M]*

Paris, Fauvel Master, c. 1320s

Manuscript: Parchment; 187 fols.; 195 × 292 mm (textblock: 148 × 213); two columns of forty lines.

Artist: The elongated figures with small heads, delicate lines and elegant draping present a very fine version of the Fauvel Master in a palette of pastel pink, blue and mauve with an orange-red. Some images have gold backgrounds.

Decoration: Miniatures, excepting the two-column frontispiece, are single-column, twelve- or ten-line. Two-line laisse header initials alternating in red and blue with flourishing. The frontispiece, on fol. 1, has a bar extender with trilobate leaves and two birds in the bas-de-page as well as a four-line champie blue and red initial, filled with blue scrolls and orange leaves on gold. Similar four-line initials accompany the miniatures with a fill of one to three blue, orange or pink sycamore or trilobate leaves on gold, sometimes with extenders and gold trilobate leaves.

Contents:

1–135 *Roman d'Alixandre*
nine mins.
136–187v *Voeux*
two mins.

Literature: Långfors, p. 18; Ham, pp. xv–xix; Henry 1, p. 433, n. 1; Henry 2, pp. 108–109; A. Klein, “Die alfranazösischen Minnefragen,” *Marburger*



Fig. 160. BnF, ms. fr. 12567, *Voies du paon*, fol. 60v, det., Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 161. BnF, ms. fr. 12567, *Voies du paon*, fol. 60v, det., Alexander and Cassandus (photo with permission: BnF).



Fig. 162. BnF, ms. fr. 22521, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, det., Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).

Beiträge zur romanische Philologie 1, p. 220; BnF Petit, p. 330; P. Meyer, pp. 213–322; Peckham/La Du, pp. xii, lii; Ritchie 2, pp. xliii–xliv; Ritchie 3, pp. ix–x.

Provenance: The marginal notes appear to be the hand of “president Fauchet” (BnF cat 330). The first flyleaf is composed of a fragment of a concession of a benefice made (between 1349–1352) by Pierre Avogadri, bishop of Sisteron. Two fifteenth-century notes in Provençal (fols. 66, 72), seem to indicate that this manuscript was still in Southern France at this date (BnF cat 330; Ritchie, 1921, xliii). The old shelfmark, “CCC 14,” is from the catalogue of Claude de Grandrue (BnF cat 330). The Parisian X of St. Victor is identified in two inscriptions, a painted crest and the arms on the binding: fol. 1, bas-de-page, crest and “*cest livre est de saint victor les paris qui le trouvera si lui reside po[ur] sanc[on]e[r] de dieu*,”; fol 187v, “*hic liber est sancti victorie parisien[is] inveniens quis et reddat amore dei*.”

23. *Paris*, BnF, ms. fr. 24386 [La Vallière 2703 (69)] [N6]

Paris, begun c. 1330–40 and finished in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century, (chart 7B and 7D).

Manuscript: Parchment; 183 fols.; 180 × 267 mm (textblock: 126 × 209 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Artist: The manuscript was prepared in the Thomas de Maubeuge and Montbaston ateliers but left unfinished (I thank Mme. T. Gousset for identifying the hand); this is most apparent on fol. 85 where the left-most figure, by Maubeuge, contrasts sharply with the others, later additions. For the most part, the backgrounds and costumes were completed and the faces added later. Mme. Gousset adds that the unfinished state of the manuscript as well as the collaborative effort between Maubeuge and Montbaston points to a date after the death of Montbaston and furthermore may be an indication of Maubeuge's death.

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue; seven-line *champie* initial on fol. 1 with blue and red frame, filled with blue-stemmed orange and coral sycamore leaves on gold, the foliate extenders with blue, gold and orange-coral trilobate leaves. The four-line initials at 141 are in same style, but cruder six- or four-line *champie* initials in gold, blue and red accompany miniatures. Prose summary rubrics in red, executed by two hands in two dialects, were probably placed in areas initially meant for images: fols. 20, 46v (here the rubrics interfere with the beginning of the text, and the initial, fifteenth century, meant to be six-line, is executed on only five), 65.

Contents:

- | | |
|----------|--|
| 1–140 | <p><i>Voeux</i></p> <p>three mins.</p> <p>fol 20v: 6-line initial blue and red initial (added in 15C)</p> <p>fol. 66: bearded man gestures to peacock (being hit by a white arrow though nobody here holds a bow) on roof of tower as woman looks on; this fifteenth-century peacock is decidedly different from the one shown below</p> <p>fol. 85: three couples seated on a bench: note presence of a different hand in face of figure at far left</p> <p>fol. 140: <i>before</i> the beginning of the <i>Restor: Explicit les veus du poon et lacomplissement. / et les mariaiges et le restor</i> (Here ends the Vows of the Peacock and their fulfillminet and the marriages and the restoration [of the peacock])</p> |
| 141–183v | <p><i>Restor</i></p> <p>two mins.</p> |

Fol. 183v: in line with *laisse* "*explicit du poon bien ait qui les lira*" in a secretary hand *explicit du paon bien ait qui secy escrist*" (Here ends the Peacock. May good come to all those who read it. Here ends the Peacock. May good come to the scribe who wrote it)

Literature: de Bure 2, pp. 161–164; BnF Petit, pp. 337–338; Ritchie 2, pp. xlv–xlv; Ritchie 3, pp. xv–xvi; Restor 1, p. 18 (le scribe paraît négligent); Restor 2, p. 12.

Provenance: on fol. 183v: *Acheté de Saint Igny le ii de may ccccxiii*

24. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 25521 [*La Vallière* 2704 (41)] [N5]

NB: lost; description based primarily on Restor 2 (images at Conway Library), (chart 9A, fig. 162)

Manuscript: 172 fol. 160 × 230 mm. Paris, c. 1330

Artist: Mme. T. Gousset has seen a now-lost photo of this manuscript which she identified as the hand of Jeanne de Montbaston. This is corroborated by iconography for the *Restor*, which is in keeping with the extant Montbaston and Maubeuge atelier iconography.

Decoration: *Laisse* header initials red or blue, not always alternating.

Contents:

- | | |
|----------|---------------|
| 1–151 | <i>Voeux</i> |
| | five mins. |
| 151–172v | <i>Restor</i> |
| | one min. |

Literature: de Bure 2, p. 164; Legrand d'Aussy, *Notices et Extraits des mss. de la Bibliothèque nationale*, 5 (an vii 1798–1799), pp. 119–120; BnF Petit, pp. 619–620; Ritchie 2, p. xlv; Ritchie 3, p. xiv–xv; Restor 1, p. 18 (le scribe paraît négligent); Restor 2, pp. 11–12.

25. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 25522 (*Sorbonne* 1557) [N3]

France, c. 1312 (chart 4A, 4E, 4F; 4 fig. 163)

Manuscript: Parchment; 137 fols.; 160 × 223 mm (textblock: 119 × 173 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Artist: Rennes *Rose* Master

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue. six-line *champie* blue-gold initial with red center and bar extender on fol. 1. Eight-line initial on fol. 114.

Contents:

1–137 *Voeux*

Two miniatures

fol. 137v: bears same couplet as [N2]: *Ci fenist la matire q'ici plus n'en a/ bien ait qui la oi et cilz qui escript la// explicit les veuz du paon* (Here finishes the story of which nothing is left to tell. May good come to those who hear it and the scribes who wrote it. Here ends the *Vows of the Peacock*)¹⁷

Literature: BnF Petit, p. 620; Ritchie 2, p. xlvi; A. Thomas, "Jacques de Longuyon, trouvère," HLF 36 (1927), p. 21; Ritchie 3, p. xiii.

Provenance: Arms of Richelieu on binding. Gruthuyse (d.1492), surrounded by the collier of the order of the Golden Fleece on fol. 1; Mazarin (Delisle, 1, 145.13).

26. *Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, MS vat. lat. 3209 [P3]*

Paris, 1330s (figs. 2, 3)

Manuscript: Parchment; 148 fols.; 159 × 243 mm; one column of thirty lines up to 147v-148v; after, in a late fourteenth-century hand, in two columns of thirty-four to thirty-five lines.

Language: Carey describes the language as Franco-picard with some Lorraine characteristics (Restor 1:18).

Contents:

1–147 *Voeux*

nineteen mins.

147v-148v *Lai*, de Fainière, incomplete

Literature: P. de Nolhac, *Bibliothèque des Hautes Études* 74, p. 311; E. Langlois, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits de la Bibliothèque nationale et autres bibliothèques*, 33, part 2, "Notices des manuscrits français et

¹⁷ The article "*la [matire]*" reads "*ma [matire]*" in [N2].



Fig. 163. BnF, ms. fr. 25522, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 1, Alexander and Cassamus (photo with permission: BnF).

provençaux de Rome antérieurs au XVI^e siècle,” pp. 254–261 (with an edition of the *Lai*); Ritchie 2, pp. xlv–xlvii; Ritchie 3, pp. xxiii; Restor 1, p. 18 (first half of the fourteenth century).

Provenance: Bears arms of Pope Gregory VI; Nohac identifies the manuscript with one in the inventory of volumes bequeathed by Bembo to Fulvio Orsini.

II. *Manuscripts with spaces left for illumination or with miniatures removed*

1. *London, BL, Add. 16956 [W^{bis}]*

Early nineteenth-century transcript of [W]

Manuscript: Paper; 106 pp.; twenty-seven lines per page

Contents: *Fuerres, Prise, Voeux, Restor, Parfait.*

2. *London, BL, Harley 3992 [S2]*

France?, fourteenth century

Manuscript: Parchment; 96 fols.; 150 × 215 mm (textblock: 101 × 153 mm); one column of thirty-one lines.

Decoration: two-line alternating blue and red painted *laisse* header initials; fol. 43: four-line initial at Part II; with rubrics.

Contents:

1–96 *Voeux:* (begins at line 1009; lacking 2641–2895 between fols. 26v and 27; 7169–7296 between fols. 93v and 94; ends at line 749obis)

Two unfilled spaces: fol. 34v: twenty lines are blank at the bottom of the folio, the scribe having left line 3377 half finished. As this is the end of the quire (VII written in *bas-de-page*), and given that the same scribe resumes with line 3377 in full on fol. 35, I am not sure that this was intended to be a space for an image. It occurs at a point in the text only illustrated in [P7] where Clarus fights Aristé and Bétis; fol. 45v: ten blank lines at the top of the folio precede line 4018, which heads a *laisse*; [U] depicts the feast of the peacock at this same point.

Literature: Långfors, p. 18; *Bibliothecae Harleianae*, vol. 3 (London, 1808), col. 102a; Ward, vol. 1, pp. 154–155; Ritchie 2, pp. xxii–xxiii; A. Thomas,

"Jacques de Longuyon, trouvère," HLF 36 (1927), p. 20; Ritchie 3, pp. xxxiv–xxxv; Paul Lehman, *Mitteilungen aus Handschriften*, vol. 2 (Munich, 1930), p. 26; C.E. Wright, *Fontes Haleiani: A Study of the Sources of the Harleian Collection of Manuscripts Preserved in the Department of Manuscripts in the British Museum* (London, 1972); H.J. Hallauer, "'Habent sua fata libelli': Von der Mosel zur Themse: Handschriften des St. Nikolaus-Hospital in der Bibliotheca Harleiana," *Mitteilungen und Forschungsbeiträge der Cusanus-Gesellschaft* 17 (1986), pp. 31, 43, 120–121, 254, 438.

Provenance: Cardinal Nicholas of Cusa (1401–1464), bequeathed upon his death to the hospital of St. Nicholas at Cusa below Trèves on the Mosel, which he founded; purchased from the hospital for Robert Harley, in November 1718.

3. *Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 2776* [S5]

Fourteenth century

Manuscript: Parchment; 154 fols.; 170 × 250 mm; single column of twenty-nine to thirty-three lines.

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue.

Contents:

Voeux, 1–134v; three spaces

Restor, 135–154

Literature: Långfors, p. 18; Ritchie 2, p. xxxii; Ritchie 3, p. xxxvii; Restor 1, p. 19 (l'écriture est régulière et très lisible); Restor 2, p. 20.

Provenance: bears the following marks of ownership: Aulmy, Jaquet Auber, Jehan Fossé, Anne de Mallet de Gravelle (daughter of bibliophile Louis Malet, admiral of France, d. 1516, wife of Pierre de Balzac and mother of Claude d'Urfé; see Delisle 2: 381), Guyon de Sardièrre (see Delisle 1: 550, n. 4 who notes a published catalogue of this library dated 1759), whose library was purchased by Louis César de la Beume Le Blanc, duc de La Vallière (1708–1780).

4. *Paris, Bnf, ms. fr. 1554 (anc. suppl. fr. 7596²)* [N2]

Northern France, 1340s (fig. 164)

Manuscript: Parchment; 161 fol.; 160 × 243 mm (textblock: 100 × 178 mm); one column of thirty lines.

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in red and blue. The first text begins on fol. 2 with a seven-line red and blue painted and flourished initial. Rubrics, in red, are accompanied by six-, five-, and four-line blue initials with red and blue flourishing. In reference to the *Restor*, Boulton, 299, mentions that the “words of the [intercalated] *rondeau* are underlined in red.”

Contents:

2–138v *Voeux*

fol. 139: in black ink and made to seem as part of *laisse*: *Ci fenist ma matiere que ci plus nen ai/ Bien ait qui la ouie et qui escipte la//Expliciunt le veus du paon* (Importantly, this is almost identical to the colophon in [N3] with the exception that the article preceding *matiere* is ‘ma’ and not ‘la’, my emphasis: Here finishes *my* story [*matiere*] of which there is no more. May good come to those who hear it and he who wrote it. Here ends the *Vows of the Peacock*)

139v–160 *Restor*

Fol. 160v: *Explicit du paon bien ait qui le lira* (Here ends the *Peacock*. May good come to he who reads it)

Literature: Meyer, p. 247–322; P. Meyer, “Les neuf preux,” *Bulletin de la société des ancien textes* 9 (1883), p. 49; Långfors, p. 18; Ham, pp. xix–xxii; Henry 1, p. 433, n. 1; Henry 2, p. 109; BnF Ancien, p. 252; Verwijs, *Roman van Cassamus*, p. xii; Ritchie 2, p. xxxvii; Ritchie 3, p. xii–xiii; Restor 1, p. 18 and *passim*; Restor 2, p. 10–11; Boulton (1993), p. 299.

Provenance: Charles VI, King of France; Jean, Duke of Bedford, Regent of the kingdom of France (listed as ‘Previous Owners’) information obtained on Europeana Regia.

Internet Resources: description of the manuscript on Europeana Regia which links to a fully digitized manuscript on Gallica: <http://www.europeanaregia.eu/en/manuscripts/paris-bibliotheque-nationale-france-mss-francais-1554/en>

5. Rouen, *Bibliothèque Municipale*, MS O.8 [S6]

Paris, 1320s

Manuscript: Parchment; 148 fols.; 205 × 295 mm; single column of thirty-three lines.

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials in red and blue with flourishing (they are filled with a distinctive double vertical line which is the axis for a horizontally aligned s-scroll). The frontispiece conserves a five-line painted initial with a bar extender at the side and in the lower margin which sprouts two symmetrically scrolling branches with crudely drawn ivy and sycamore leaves.

Contents:

1–130v *Voeux*

On fol. 1 there is one destroyed miniature: the area comprising the top sixteen lines has been cut away. On fol. 59 there is space left for a fourteen-line miniature and five-line inset initial.

130v–148 *Restor*

On fol. 130v there are six spaces left between the end of the *Voeux* and the beginning of the *Restor*

Literature: *Catalogue général des manuscrits*, vol. 1 (1886), p. 267; Ritchie 2, pp. xlvii–xlvi; Ritchie 3, p. xxxviii; Restor 1, p. 19 (écrit dans une écriture gothique régulière et plutôt ornementale); Restor 2, p. 21.

Provenance: Convent of discalced Carmelites of Rouen (fol. 2: Ex conventu Rothom Carm discal; fol. 148v: Ego Johannes Cosson rothomagensis diocesis).

III. Manuscripts without Illumination

1. *Épinal, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 189 (no.69) [p1]*

France

Contents:

fragment of the *Voeux*

Literature: *Romania* 31, p. 390; 43, p. 79; Långfors, les incipit, p. 63; B. Edwards, *A Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre*, Elliott Monographs, 20, p. 2; A. Henry, "Étude", p. 433 n. 1; A. Henry "Pierre", p. 108; Bonnardot.

2. *Le Mans, Bibliothèque du Grand Séminaire + Archives Départementales de la Sarthe (Collection Calendini, liasse 172) [p3]*

France, c. 1300–1325 (la Du, 78).

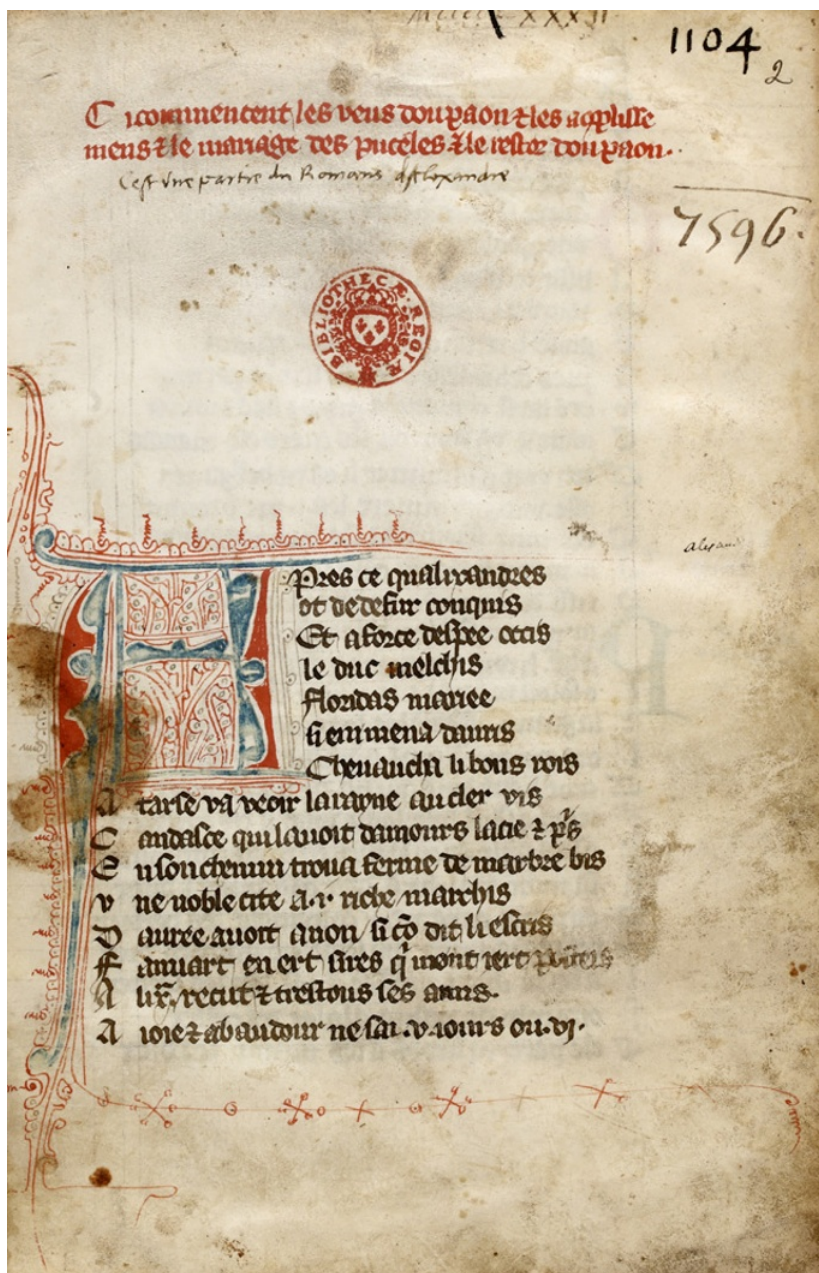


Fig. 164. BnF, fr. 1554, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 2 (photo with permission: BnF).

Manuscript: Parchment. 2 + 1 fol. 110 × 170 mm; single column of thirty-four lines.

Decoration: alternating two-line *laisse* header initials in blue and red; La Du, 1956, notified of the find by archivist M. Boullier de Branche, presented a short description of the leaves and an edition of the text in full. Joined, the leaves present a nearly contiguous section of the *Voeux*, missing one leaf: Grand Séminaire + *missing leaf* + Archives + Grand Séminaire. La Du, 79, notes that this order was already present in the foliation he found on the leaves. La Du, 79, places the dialect to the Picard-Walloon region. It is highly unlikely that this manuscript bore anything other than a few images given the lack of a miniature at 2777/2705; la Du (82, 83, 85) does, however, note three “grandes capitales” at 2705, 2749 and 2808 which are apparently highly rubbed.

Contents:

three fols. *Voeux* (corresponding roughly to lines 2550/2468-2883/2816)

Literature: *Catalogue générale des manuscrits*, vol. 20 (1893); M.S. la Du, “Deux nouveaux fragments des *Voeux du paon*,” *Romania* 77 (1956), p. 78.

Provenance: stamped “Séminarium Cenomanense” on recto of Grand Séminaire leaves and verso of Sarthe leaf.

3. London, *BL*, MS *Arundel* 320 [p2]

France, fourteenth century

Contents

fragment of the *Voeux* on 181v

4. Paris, *Bnf*, ms. fr. 368 (*anc.* 6985) [R]

France with initials executed by a Southern French or Italian scribe (Marie-Thérèse Gousset); first half of the fourteenth century (Ritchie, Gousset)

Manuscript: Parchment; 280 fols.; 310 × 400 mm (textblock: 255 × 360 mm); three columns of fifty lines.

Decoration: two-line *laisse* header initials alternating in blue and red with, respectively, red and violet flourishing; initials do not consistently alternate, nor do all initials receive flourishing. Texts begin with four- or

six-line blue or blue and red initials with red or red and violet flourishing. There is a red slash through the first initial of each verse. Some rubrics in red, though none for the *Vœux*, which is intercalated into the *Roman d'Alexandre*. Missing many folios.

Contents:

1	<i>Roman de Partenopex, comte de Blois et d'Angers</i>
41	<i>Roman d'Alexandre</i> (begun, with lacunae)
89	<i>Vœux</i>
116c	<i>Roman d'Alexandre</i> (continued)
121	<i>Roman de Guiteclin, duc de saxe, ou guerres des françois et des saxons sous Charlemagne: Chanson des saxons</i> , Jean Bordiaus
140	<i>Roman de Charlemagne</i> , Simon de Pouille: incomplete
161–275	<i>Roman de Guillaume d'Orange</i> (fragmentary)

Literature: *Romania* 31, p. 390; 43, p. 480; 55, p. 257; BnF Ancien, pp. 28–29; F. Guessard and A. de Montaiglon, eds., *Aliscans*, chanson de geste (Paris, 1870), p. xcii; G. Paris, “Sur un vers du Coronement Louis,” *Romania* 1 (1872), p. 178, n. 3; G. Raynaud, “Les congés de Jean Bodel,” *Romania* 9 (1880), pp. 217–218; P. Meyer, *Étude* (1882), pp. 216–218, 247–322; G. Paris, “Une fable à retrouver,” *Romania* 31 (1902), p. 102; E. Langlois, ed., *Le Couronnement de Louis*, chanson de geste (Paris, 1888), p. cxxvi, (2nd ed. Paris, 1925), p. xiv; P. Meyer, “Notice sur un recueil de fragments de mss. français (B.N., ms. n. acq. fr. 934),” *Bulletin de la société des anciens textes* 22 (1896), pp. 61–63, 66; G. Rolin, ed., *Aliscans mit berücksichtigung von Wolframs von Eschenbach Willebalm* (Leipzig, 1897), p. lxii; F. Menel and E. Stengel, “Jean Bodels Saxenlied,” *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen* 99 (1906), p. 1; P. Loreng, “Die Handschriftenverhältnis der Chanson de Geste *Aliscans*,” *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 31 (1907), pp. 385–431; R. Weeks, “Études sur les *Aliscans* (suite et fin),” *Romania* 38 (1909), p. 26; R. Weeks, “The Boulogne Manuscript of the Chevalerie Vivien,” *Modern Language Review* 5 (1910), pp. 54–67; W. Cloette, ed., *Les deux rédactions en vers du Moniage Guillaume, chansons de geste du XIIIe siècle* (Paris, 1911), vol. 2, pp. 41, 221–225; Ritchie 2, p. xxxiii; Ritchie 3, p. xxxi–xxxii; J. Perrier, *Le Charroi de Nîmes* (Paris, 1931), p. vi; A. Henry *Étude*, p. 433, n. 1; A. Henry Pierre, p. 109, n. 1; D. McMillan, “Les Enfances de Guillaume et les Narbonnais,” *Romania* 64 (1938), p. 316; M. Tyssens, *La Geste de Guillaume d'Orange dans les manuscrits cycliques* (Paris, 1967), pp. 327–362; C. Regnier, *La Prise d'Orange*, Chanson de geste de la fin du XIIe siècle (Paris, 1967), pp. 8,

10–14, 35–36, 41–157; J. Baroin, *Simon de Pouille. Chanson de geste éditée d'après le ms. 4780 de la Bibliothèque nationale* (Geneva, 1968); J. Gildea, ed., *Partonopeus de Blois* (Villanova University, 1970), vol. 2, part 2, p. 8; M. Barnett, ed., *La Bataille Loquifer* (Oxford, 1975); J. Baroin, *Simon de Pouille*, 3 vols. (Paris, 1978); Y.G. Lepage, ed., *Les rédactions en vers du Couronnement de Louis* (Paris, 1978), pp. xxi–xxii; B.C.R. Guidot, "Simon de Pouille," *Romanische Forschungen* 91 (1979), pp. 458–461; S. Myers-Ivey, "Repetitive Patterns for Introducing Speech in the Manuscript Tradition of the *Prise d'Orange*," *Olifant* 8, no.1 (Autumn, 1980), pp. 51–65; D. MacMillan, "Propos sur un mini-problème de critique textuelle," in *La Chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien. Mélanges René Louis* (Vézelay, 1982), pp. 637–647.

Provenance: once belonged to the library of the Dukes of Orléans at Blois (Ritchie).

Internet Resources: reproduced in full on Gallica.

5. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 792 (anc. 7190^{5A}, Colbert 1506) [n2]

France, late thirteenth century(?), with an appended section of the fourteenth century

Contents:

- 1 Fragment of *Partenope de Blois*
- 3 *Roman de Florimont*
- 51 *Roman d'Alexandre*
- last flyleaf a later fragment of the *Voeux*

Literature: *Romania* 31, p. 390; 43, p. 79; Långfors, *les incipits*, p. 63; B. Edwards, *A Classification of the Manuscripts of Gui de Cambrai's Vengement Alixandre*, Elliott Monographs, 20, p. 2; A. Henry, *Étude*, p. 433, n. 1; A. Henry, *Pierre*, p. 108; P. Paris, *Les manuscrits français de la Bibliothèque du roi*, vol. 6 (Paris, 1845), p. 216; H. Rotebey and P. Meyer, *Barlaam und Josaphat, französisches Gedicht des dreizehnten Jahrhunderts von Gui de Cambrai* (Stuttgart, 1864), p. 324; Paul Meyer, *Étude* (1882), pp. 247–322; E. Pfeiffer, "Über die Handschriften des alfranzösischen Roman *Partonopeus de Blois*," *Ausgaben und Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiete der romanischen Philologie* 25 (1885), p. 3; A. Thomas, "Les papiers de Rochegud à Albi," *Romania* 17 (1888), p. 86; BnF Ancien, p. 82; A. Milka, "Aimon von Varennes, Florimont," *Gesellschaft für romanische Literatur* 48 (1932), p. ix; Peckham and le Du, pp. xii, lii; L.P. Smith, "A Newly Discovered Fragment

of the Old French 'Partonopeus de Blois,' *Scriptorium* 16 (1962), p. 212; J. Gildea, *Partonopeus de Blois* (Villanova University, 1970), vol. 2, part 2, p.10.

6. *Paris, BnF fr. 1375 (anc. 7498³ Cangé 2) [O]*

France(?), Fifteenth century

Manuscript: Paper; 537 pp.; 200 × 285 mm; one column of twenty-two to twenty-six lines; written as prose from p. 150.

Contents:

- 1–314 *Roman d'Alexandre* (begun)
- 314–343 *Prise de Defur*
- 343–393 *Roman* (completed)
- 393–431^v *Venjançe*
- 432–537^v *Voeux*
- 538–554 *Restor*

Literature: Meyer, pp. 247–322; Ham, pp. xxxi–xxxii; Peckham and La Du, pp. xii, liii; BnF Ancien, p. 220; Långfors, p. 18; Henry 1, p. 433, n. 1; Restor 1, p. 18 (le manuscrit, en écriture bâtarde, a été écrit hâtivement, et des mots, voire des vers entiers, ont été omis); Restor 2, pp. 13–14.

Internet Resources: reproduced in full on Gallica.

7. *Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 2167 (anc. 7990^{2.2}) [P5]*

Northern France or Flanders, 1344

Manuscript: Parchment; 122 fols.; 135 × 195 mm (textblock: 91 × 162 mm); single column of thirty-three lines

Decoration: two-line red *laisse* header initials with brown pen flourishing. The first part of the *Voeux* ends at the top third of fol. 57v, the last page of a quire, with a five-line explicit, leaving almost half the verso empty, perhaps for a miniature. Part II begins with a rubric in red, and a red and blue five-line initial with elaborate red and purple flourishing. At least two scribes share the work. The first writes carefully (Ritchie, xli).

Contents:

- 1–122 *Voeux:* lacking fol. 1; following the number of lines per folio, nine lines lack on the missing folio, perhaps for a long rubric or miniature

58: Part II begins under the rubric *Che sont li veu du paon fait en le cambre venus*

Literature: Långfors, p. 18; F. Bonnard, "Notice du ms. 189 de la Bibliothèque d'Épinal," *Bulletin de la société des anciens textes* 2 (1876), pp. 112–114; BnF Ancien, p. 366; G. Paris, "Le conte de la rose dans le Roman de Perceforest," *Romania* 23 (1894), pp. 81–85; A. Thomas, "Jacques de Longuyon, trouvère," *HLF* 36 (1927), p. 21; Ritchie 2, p. xl; Ritchie 3, pp. xxv–xxvi; E.F. Flutre, "Etudes sur le Roman de Perceforest. Quatrième article. Le premier livre (suite et fin)," *Romania* 74 (1953), p. 48.

Provenance: on a flyleaf at the beginning of the volume "MS copié par un nommé Benoit. A appartenu à Bigot"; fol. 57v, end of part I, "Explicith Benoit mescript en lan del in/ carnacion nostre signeur Mil ccc et/ xl et quatre le merkedi prochain devant/ le Jour de la magdalainne Amen/ Explicith."

8. Paris, BnF, ms. fr. 20045 [*St. Germain Fr.1984 (anc. 2727)*] [P6]

France, Northern dialect, first half of fourteenth century

Manuscript: Parchment; 160 fols.; 125 × 216 mm (textblock: 90 × 178 mm); one column of thirty-three lines.

Decoration: two-line red laisse header initials. The two parts of the *Voeux* are copied quite distinctly, the first ending on line 2 of 48 recto, the end of a quire, leaving fol. 48v empty (perhaps for a miniature); the second beginning on 49r. The beginning of both parts is marked with an eight-line red and black initial.

Contents:

1–159v *Voeux*

159v Cisiogianus, *Latin verses on the calendar* (two folios were added in the eighteenth century)

Literature: *Romania* 52, p. 527; van Praet, p. 158, no. xlix; BnF St.-Germ, pp. 471–472; Delisle, 1, pp. 144, 145, n. 4; Delisle 2, p. 360; Ritchie 2, p. xliii; Ritchie 3, pp. xxvi–xxvii; Restor 1, p. 18 (written in Franco-Picard); Restor 2, pp. 16–17.

Provenance: fol. 1, arms of Louis de Bruges, seigneur de la Gruthuyse (d.1492), surrounded by the collier of the order of the Golden Fleece; top of same is the signature of poet Philippe Desportes (1546–1606), abbé de Tiron (Delisle, 2, p.360); bequeathed by Henri-Charles du Cambout de

Coislin, Bishop of Metz (who also owned [U]) to St. Germain-des-près upon his death in 1732 (Ritchie 2, xliii).

9. *olim Donaueschingen ms.169 (L. 207) [P7^{bis}]*

Germany, nineteenth century

Manuscript: Paper

Contents: partial transcript of *Voeux* (fols. 25–26) from [P7].

Literature: Barack (1865).

IV. *Lost Manuscripts*

1. *olim Mahaut d'Artois, Countess*

9 September 1313

Artist: Maubeuge workshop

Literature: Ritchie vol. 1 (1925), p. xxxv, n. 4; idem, vol. 3 (1927), introduction; Bonnardot, *Romania* 24, pp. 580–581; F.T.H. Fletcher, *Etude sur la langue* (Paris, 1924), pp. xxiv, 184; Alison Stones, “The Illustrations in BnF fr. 95 and Yale 229, Prolegomena to a Comparative Study,” in Keith Busby, ed., *Word and Image in Arthurian Romance* (New York, 1996), pp. 203–283.

2. *olim Thiébaud de Bar*

Presentation copy of the *Voeux*, c. 1312

3. *olim Simon de Lille, Goldsmith to the French Crown, Paris*

Presentation copy of the *Parfait*, c. 1348

Literature: Rouse and Rouse, “The Goldsmith and the Peacocks.”

4. *olim Gonzaga family, Mantua*

before 1407 (date of inventory)

Contents: *Voeux*

Literature: G. Paris, “Inventaire des manuscrits en langue française possédés par Francesco Gonzaga I, capitaine de Mantoue, mort en 1407,” *Romania* 9 (1880), pp. 497–514; Ritchie 2, p. xlviii.

Provenance: This manuscript is item twenty-two in the 1407 inventory drawn up after the death of Francesco Gonzaga I, fourth Captain of

Mantua. The Gonzaga library was sold at Venice at the beginning of the eighteenth century.

V. *Translations*

Flemish (no shelf mark)

Lost

Netherlands, fourteenth century

Contents: *Voeux* (in this source called the *Roman van Cassamus*)

Three fragments, the longest is 1890 lines

Literature: *Roman van Cassamus*, ed. Eelco Verwijs, (Groningen, 1869).

Scottish

London, BL, no shelfmark

1438 (Copied directly from [W]).

Contents: John Barbour, *The Buik of Alexander*.

Literature: Ritchie 1 – 4; Restor 2; Albert Hermann, *Untersuchungen über das schottische Alexanderbuch* (Halle, 1893), p. 87; Ritchie 1, (1925), p. cclxxxiv, pp. 1–105; 2, (1921), p. cxvii, pp. 106–248; 3, (1927), p. cviii, 248[sic]–351; 4, (1929), p. xii, pp. 353–641.

Latin

Vatican, Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, ms. E 36

Fourteenth century

Literature: D.J.A. Ross, "A New Manuscript of the Latin *Fuerre de Gadres*," *JWCI* 22 (1959), pp. 211–253; Licitra, "Una redazione latina inedita dei 'Voti del Pavone'," *Studi medievali* 1 (1961), pp. 321–362; 2 (1961), pp. 711–743.

MANUSCRIPTS LISTED BY SIGLUM

1. P ^{7bis}	169?, 19th-century transcript of part of P7	<i>olim</i> Donaueschingen	19C
2. W ^{bis}	Add.16956, 19th-century transcript of W	BL	19C
3. Flemish	no shelf mark	<i>lost</i>	14C?
4. Gonzaga	Lost	<i>olim</i> Gonzaga family	14C?

5. Latin	Archivio Capitolare di S. Pietro, ms. E 36	Vatican	14C?
6. M	fr. 24365 (anc. S. Victor 420)	BnF	Paris, c. 1320–30
7. Mahaut	Lost	<i>olim</i> Countess Mahaut d'Artois	after 1312
8. N fr. 791 (anc. 7190 ^{5.5.})		BnF	Paris, c. 1340s
9. N1	Additional 16888	BL	Paris, c. 1335–40
10. N2	fr. 1554 (anc. suppl. fr. 7596 ²)	BnF	14C
11. N3	fr. 25522 (Sorbonne 1557)	BnF	Paris, c. 1312
12. N4	fr. 14972 (anc. suppl. fr. 579)	BnF	Paris, c. 1320
13. N5	fr. 25521 [La Vallière 2704 (41)]	BnF	Paris, c. 1330
14. N6	fr. 24386 [La Vallière 2703 (69)]	BnF	N. France, c. 1330
15. n2	fr. 792	BnF	France, late 13C (with 14C addition)
16. O	fr. 1375 (anc. 7498 ³ Cangé 2)	BnF	France, 15C
17. P	Bodleian 264	Bodleian Library, Oxford	Metz, c. 1312
18. P1	Douce 308	Bodleian Library, Oxford	Tournai?, 1338–1344
19. P2	11191	BR, Brussels	France, c. 1380–90
20. P3	3209	Vatican	Paris, c. 1320
21. P4	Additional 30864	BL	Germany?, c. 1390–1400
22. P5	fr. 2167 (anc. 7990 ^{2.2.})	BnF	N. France/ Flanders, 1344
23. P6	fr. 20045 [St. Germain. Fr. 1984 (anc. 2727)]	BnF	14C
24. P7	Glazier 24	PML, New York	Tournai?, c. 1350

25. P8/A	3042	Rijkmuseum, Amsterdam	Paris, c.1320
26. p1	codex 189 (no.69)	Bibliothèque d'Epinal	?
27. p2	Arundel 320, fol.181v	BL	?
28. p3	2 + 1 leaves	Le Mans	half 14C
29. Q	fr. 790 (anc. 7190 ⁵)	BnF	Paris, c. 1312
30. Q1	fr. 2165 (anc. 7989) and fr. 2166 (anc. 7990)	BnF	Paris, c.1350s (w/ 15C addition)
31. R	fr. 368 (anc. 6985)	BnF	14C
32. S	fr. 1590 (anc. 7611)	BnF	Paris c. 1312
33. S1	Douce 165	Bodleian Library, Oxford	Paris, c.1340
34. S2	Harley 3992	BL	France?, 14C
35. S3	fr. 2136 (anc. 7973)	BnF	Paris, c.1320
36. S4	Spencer 9	New York Public Library	Paris?, c.1350
37. S5	2776	Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal	14C
38. S6	O ⁸	Bibliothèque municipale de Rouen	14C
39. S7	46	Royal Library, Copenhagen	after 1312
40. S8	q841.1 JAC (olim Phillips 2582)	Liverpool, City Library	N. France, c. 1320s
41. S9	(olim Phillips 3638)	Geneva, Fondation Bodmeriana	NE France, c. 1330
42. S10	613 (olim Phillips 8314)	New Haven, Beinecke Library	NE. France, c. 1320
43. Simon	Lost	olim Simon de Lille	c. 1348
44. Scottish	no shelf mark	BL	1438
45. Thiébault	Lost	olim Bishop Thiébaut de Bar	c. 1312
46. U	fr. 12567 (anc. suppl. fr. 342)	BnF	Midi?, c.1312
47. W	fr. 12565 (anc. suppl. fr. 254 ¹⁹)	BnF	Paris, c.1340–50

CONCORDANCE CHART: SIGLUM, CONTENTS/MINIATURES, SIZE, FORMAT, ORIGIN/ARTIST, DATE.

Siglum	Text/miniature/ miniature		Total Min. Size	Text	Lines	Columns	Artist/Place of Date Creation
	Voeux	Restor	Parfait	Other			
1. S7	x/2	x/1	3		30	1	14C?
2.	Trans						Flemish; 14C? Flanders
3.	Trans						Scottish; Great 14C? Britain
4.	Trans						Latin; Italy? 14C?
5. n2	x/frag		x	None (inc)			France 14C
6. p1	x/frag			None (inc)			14C?
7. p2	x/frag			None (inc)			14C?
8. p3	x/frag			None (inc)	110 × 170	34 1	France c. 1300–1325
9. S2	x/*2		*2	unfinished	150 × 215	101 × 153 31 1	14C
10. S5	x/*3	x	*3	unfinished			14C
11. N2	x/*8?	x	*8?	unfinished	160 × 243	100 × 178 30 1	Paris or 1st half 14C N.Western
12. R	x		x	None	310 × 400	255 × 360 50 3	France S. French or 1st half 14C Italian scribe

13. P6	x		x?	None	125 × 216	90 × 178	33	1	1st half 14C c. 1312
14. Q	x/12	x	x/22	34	225 × 305	174 × 242	40	2	
15. S	x/3		x/20+	23+ (inc)	215 × 295	178 × 241	40	2	Paris, Maubeuge
16. P3	x/19		x	19	159 × 243		30	1	Paris, Maubeuge
17. N3	x/2			2	160 × 223	119 × 173	30	1	Paris, related to c. 1320 Maubeuge
18. S9	x/13			13	143 × 233		28	1	N. France, Rennes Rose
19. P1	x/145		x/?	145+?	188 × 272	160 × 183	30	2	Lorraine?
20. P8	x/87+			87+ (inc)	131 × 200	100 × 147	20	1	Metz
21. S3	x/2		x/1	3	160 × 235	93 × 160	30	1	Flemish?
22. N4	x/1			1	163 × 230	93 × 160	30	1	N. France, Rennes Rose
23. S10	x/1			1	153 × 280		30	1	N. France, Rennes Rose
24. S6	x/1 (*1)	x/*1?	1+*2?	mut/ unf	205 × 295				Paris
25. S8	x/20			20	185 × 252	116 × 203	32	1	Paris? or Flemish
26. U	x/3	x	x/1	3	185 × 260	111 × 189	c.30	1	Southwestern France
27. M	x/2		x/9	11	195 × 292	148 × 213	40	2	Fauvel? c. 1320-30

(Continued)

Siglum	Text/miniature/ miniature		Total Min.	Size	Text	Lines	Columns	Artist/Place of Date Creation
	Voeux	Restor	Parfait	Other				
28. N6	x/3 (*2)	x/2	5 + *2	180 × 267	126 × 209	30	1	Paris, c. 1330/15C Monbaston/ Maubeuge Atelier
29. N5	x/5	x/1	6	160 × 230			1?	Paris, c. 1330–40 Montbaston
30. N1	x/1(*2)	x/1	2+*2	157 × 246	101 × 175	30	1	Paris, c. 1335–40 Montbaston
31. S1	x/9	x/2	12	160 × 245	120 × 190	30	1	Paris, c. 1340 Montbaston
32. N	x/1		x/10 11	225 × 315	190 × 258	42	2	Paris c. 1340S
33. P	x/69	x/21	x/106 196 ¹	287 × 410	233 × 310	46	2	Tournai?, Jehan 1338–1344 de Gryse, Pierart dou Tielt + 4 others
34. P5	x/*1?		*1?mut					N. France, 1344
35. W	x/80	x/10	x/12 108	180 × 264	105 × 177	30	1	Paris? c. 1340–50
36. P7	x/22+	x	22+ (inc)	175 × 245	115 × 187	c. 29	1	Tournai?, 2 artists after 1350

37. S4	x/81		81	200 × 310	42	2	England or Flanders? Anglo- Norman?	c. 1350		
38. Q1	x/4	x/1	x/1	6	167 × 225	104 × 179	32	1	Paris, follows Montbaston iconography	c. 1360/15C
39. P4	x/8		8	160 × 225	106 × 174	30	1	England or Flanders?	c. 1390–1400	
40. P2	x/2+		x/?	?+ (inc)	160 × 230	113 × 165	31	1?	Anglo-Norman France	c. 1400?
41. O	x	x	x	None	200 × 285	90 × 170	25		France?	15C
42. P7 ^{bis}	x?			None?					Germany?, partial copy of P7	19C
43. W ^{bis}	x	x	x	None?					England or France?, copy of W	19C

¹ Excluding historiated initials, bas de page vignettes, and the 47 15th-century miniatures; counting "full-page" miniatures as 1.

APPENDIX ONE

CONCORDANCE OF TITULI

<i>Laise</i>	S ₁	N ₁	N ₂	N ₆
1. 1-15 1	S ₁ : Alexander and his knights on horseback encounter Cassamus; <i>Ci</i> <i>comment</i> <i>les veus du paon et le</i> <i>acomplissement et le</i> <i>mariage des pucelles et le</i> <i>restor et le pris; note in bdp:</i> <i>Comen Alexandre se parti</i> <i>de Defur et encontre a</i> <i>Cassamus...de...</i>	N ₁ : <i>Cest li livres des</i> <i>veus du pavon et des</i> <i>acomplissemens</i> <i>coment chascuns</i> <i>voua et acompli</i> [1]	N ₂ : <i>Ci commencent les</i> <i>veus dou paon et les</i> <i>acomplesse/mens et le</i> <i>mariage des puceles et le</i> <i>restor dou paon</i> above 11-line space for miniature [2]	N ₆ : <i>Ci commencent li veu</i> <i>du paon et tout li</i> <i>acomplissement et li</i> <i>mariage</i> : Alexander, before pavillions, on horseback with another man, speaks to Cassamus [1]
35. 1175-1212 1175/1142				N ₆ : <i>coument alixandres</i> <i>va a efezion li et sa gent et</i> <i>coment il firent avaler lor</i> <i>chevaux a cordes aval la</i> <i>roch dou faron et coment</i> <i>alixandres moustra lost</i> <i>clarvus linfois a sa gent</i>

Laisse	S1	N1	N2	N6
47. 1633-1667 1633/1567			N2: Coment le baudrain est avex les iiii puceles/ et cassamus dou laurris et Bétis et ioient au roy qui/ ne ment. Et comme cassamus monstre a cassiel/ le baudain par une festre alixandre le roy et/ son ost qui sont sus la roiche du far: no miniature [28v]	et coument il furent mervillans dou pueples ynde que clarvus avoit amene d'ynde la grant pourche qu'il voloit avoir une des pucelles d'efezon et elles n'en avoient cure pource qu'ils estoit trop viels space for miniature? [20]

48. S1: *Ci devise comment Bétis*
fu couronnes de iour de
festus et fu esleus au roy qui
ne ment de Édéas
52. N2: *ci endroit raconte*
comment la belle fezonas/
demande au roy qui ne
ment les quels ii cho/ses li
font plus de bien a aimer et
il li respont/ que cest
espoir et souvenir: no
miniature [32]
65. N2: *Ci endroit raconte*
coument cassamus ala a/
alixandre en la roche
dusus le faron. Et mena/
Gadifer son neveu. et
comme li roys alixandre/
lour demande dou comme
clarvus et de ses fiuls/ et de
Fésonas et de tous ceus qui
son en efeson et il/ li

(Continued)

Laisse	S1	N1	N2	N6
68. 2407-2436 2407			<i>content tout. Et comment li iiii fuils clarvus/ devoient faire lembuschement: no miniature [39] N2: 5-line space [41]</i>	
70. 2464	S1: Ci devise comment Emenidus vint li douziesme en wrines et tous nus pies et sans chaperon poier l'amende a Gadifer les espées et portées les poignes desous;			
83. 2777-2818 2777/2705	Ci devise coument Cassiel le Baudrain ious as eschés a phesonnie et sont les autres entour; [Same as S2, fol. 41v]		N2: 1-line space [47v]	N6: Ci commence li geus dez esches/ comment li viex cassamus/ fist aporter leschequier/ ou palais iupiter pour iouer/ et comment cassiel/ le baudrain ioua a/

*risee des dames et des
chevaliers/ qui ouirent le
mot.: no miniature [46v].*

*N2: Come porus est pris et
lemame cassamus/ ala
cite defeson come
prisonier: no miniature
[62].*

*N6: ci comenchent les
veus/ dou paon. coment
porrus/ trast au paon
[65v]; min.: shooting of
peacock [66].*

(Continued)

*N2: Ci Endroit
commencent li veus: no
miniature [66]¹*

*S1: Mêleé, Porrus captured
in swordfight at center,
castle to right; note in bas
de page: comment porrus
est prisons [poy?]/(emains
dont ami [...]) ichap*

II

*120.
3880-3910
3880/3812*

¹ P4: Feasting scene in castle with four couples, a lady brings the peacock to the table. *Si comence le voue de paoune*; P5: *Che sont li veu du paon fait en le cambre venus: no miniature; five-line initial* [58]; Q: *Ci comencent les veus du poon: shooting of peacock, two men l; two women r.*

<i>Laisse</i>	<i>S</i> ₁	<i>N</i> ₁	<i>N</i> ₂	<i>N</i> ₆
121. 3911-3957 3911/3841	<i>Coment les fouriers present les vaches [et les?]lines et comment bestail et furient [departis?] en ab[...]:t: How the knights took the cattle...and [fled?]</i>			<i>N2: Ci endroit raconte coment porus/traist au paon et comment fezonas/ le prent par la main quant il a le/ paon occis. et li dist sire ie vous pren/ Mon domaige faisant. et porus soblige/ envers li mout humblement: no miniature [66v]</i>
121. 3935/3866		<i>N1: Apres ce que porus ot este prins/ par force d'arnes de Cassamus et de/ lagent d'Epheson ainsi con vous/ avez oi par ci devant et fu amenes/ oumestre pales de la cite. Et fu mout/ honnerez de</i>		

tous/ chaus qui i
 furent/ et
 especialement des
 damoiseles/ et dou
 baudrain son
 cousin. Adont/
 quant il fu desarmes
 il s'en ala esbatant/
 parmi la court et vit
 un pavon sur/ une
 chambre et il prinst
 un art qun valles
 tenoit/ et trest au
 pavon et le tua et
 phesonas i vint qui
 moult en fist grant
 ioie: no miniature
 [66v]

138 note in bdp; Coment une
 4425 damoiselle poarte le paon
 a i table et est adestrée
 [de ii e...]

Laisse	S1	N1	N2	N6
139. 4455-4479 4455			N2: <i>Comment lyones se fist armer pour aler a com/ plir son veu quil avoit voe de iouster a canans/lainie fuils clarvus. Si prent congie a ses compaig/nons et s'en ala. et accompli moult tres bien son veu: no miniature [75v]</i>	
146. 4690-4720 4713/4597		N1: <i>Apres ce que chascuns des nobles/ princes orent voue au pavon devant/ les damoiseles qui tant avoient/ biaute et noblestes en elles. Adont/ s'emerveillerent moult li uns des/ autres quant chascuns ot</i>		

*descouvert/ son
pense pour la grant
emprise qui/
voloient achiever.
Adont se le va
leones/ et demanda
ses armes si come
vous aves oy/ et vint
ioster a canaam le
fil clarus no
miniature [79v]*

183.

5588-5612

5588

*N2: Ci desus a parle
comment alixandre vit/ au
baudrain faire drecier
l'estendart clarvus/ et
accrost devala la roche du
far et se vint/ a efeson pour
faire secours a Fésonas. et
quant/ il fu dela deles ma
dame Fésonas sasist et fist
[tend?]re/ ses armes
devant li. Or retourne a ma
matiere/ comment li roys
alixandres demande a*

(Continued)

<i>Laisse</i>	S1	N1	N2	N6
			<i>Cassamus qu'il/ verront volentiers celui qui li doit s'espee oster. et/ cassamus li respont qu'il le verra ains que la bataille fiere: no miniature [93].</i>	
207. 6162-6181 6162/601			<i>N2: comment li roys alixandres ot ordenees/ ses batailles. et il reproucha son veu a Perdicas/ et Perdicas en fu si iries qui vua qu'il combatroit/ a pie entres les ii batailles et Bétis le vua aussi/ et pluseurs autres aveuques eus; five-line rubric in seven-line space with no miniature [102]</i>	
213. 6313-6341 6313/6151			<i>N2: coment porus conquest le cheval emenidus: no miniature [105]</i>	

239.		N2: <i>comme gaudifer cope</i> <i>lestendar: no miniature</i> [115v]
6981-7017		
6981/6797		
249	<i>Ci devise comment Gadifer</i>	
7018	<i>coupa l'estandart que</i> <i>Clarvus avoit fait drecier en</i> <i>la bataille</i>	
251.		N2: <i>come Cassamus tua</i> <i>Clarus: no miniature</i> [122v].
7406-7435		
7406/7172		
277.		N2: <i>Ci dessus raconte</i> <i>comment li roys</i> <i>alixandres/ a mis a chois</i> <i>porus de ii choses cest a</i> <i>savoir/ de raler sen en son</i> <i>pais. ou despouser</i> <i>Fésonas/ or retourne a ma</i> <i>matiere coment gadifer et</i> <i>Bétis revindrent de la</i> <i>batialle et descendent</i> <i>devant/ le tres noble roy</i> <i>alixandre: no miniature</i> [136-136v].
8290-8366		
8290/7984		

APPENDIX TWO

ARSE-GENERATED HUMOR: PROVERBIAL PHRASES

Plug your ass and of course you can't shit

Mor.¹ 122: *A resoun pert le chïer qe soun cul estope*

If you grease the palm of a churl he'll shit in it

Mor. 1431: *Oingnez le vilain la paume, et il vous chi[e]ra ens* (See Schulze-Busacker, p. 115)

It only takes a little shit to soil big britches

Mor. 1620: *Petite merde conchie grans bra[i]es*

Whoever brews shit, drinks shit; You reap as you sow

Mor. 1989: *Ki merde brace merde beïve* (See Schulze-Busacker, p. 119)

Cover your ass *before* you fart (It is too late to cover your ass when you've already farted)

Mor. 2309: *Tart main a cul quant pez est hors*

You'd only be worse off if you shit yourself

Mor. 2349: *Tel quide peïre qe tut se conchie* (See Schulze-Busacker, p. 119)

Sing to the donkey and he'll fart for you

Hassell² A142: *Chantez à l'âne, il vous fera des petz* [c. 1390, Eustache Deschamps, *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. A.-H.-E. Queux de Saint-Hillaire and G. Raynaud, Paris 1878–1903: I, 210, 211, vv. 10, 20, 30, 34]

Landing ass up (upside down or head over heels),

Hassell C359: *Cul par dessus teste* [1498–1502 Jean de Roye, *Journal de Jean de Roye*, ed. B. de Mandrot, Paris 1894–1896, II, 269: *Quarante hommes d'armes qui estoient au roy...furent chassés cul par dessus teste par les coureurs et quelque nombre de gens de l'avant garde du duc*]

You're not well hidden if your ass is showing,

Hassell C361: *Il est mal caché à qui le cul paroist* [c. 1315, Geoffroi de Paris. *La chronique métrique attribuée à Geoffroi de Paris*, ed. A. Diverrière, Strasbourg,

¹ Mor = Józef Morawski, *Proverbes français antérieurs au XVe siècle* (Paris, 1925).

² Hassell = James Woodrow Hassell, Jr., *Middle French Proverbs, Sentences and Proverbial Phrases* (Toronto, 1982).

p. 101, v. 428: *Mal se queuvre qui le cul pert...*] (See Schulze-Busacker, p. 240, Mor. 1179)

It's as true as the fact that an ass can sing

Hassell C362: *Il est vrai tout ainsi comme le cul chante* [c. 1335 *Le roman de renart le contrefait*, ed. G. Raynaud and H. Lemaître, Geneva, 1975 (reprint of Paris, 1914), I, 264, col.1: *Je le croy, dist la dame, tout ainsi comme mon cul chante!*]

When the shepherd is weak, the wolf shits wool, Rossi,³ *Fabliaux érotiques, Berenger au long cul*, v. 300 ends with the proverb, “*A mol pastor chie lous laine*”, discussed p. 45.

They shit out the same ass

Flemish proverb cited in Gaignebet,⁴ 54–57: *Ils chient par le même cul*

He could shit in a dish and get away with it.

Flemish proverb cited in Gaignebet, 54–57: *Il chierait dans le plat qu'on lui dirait rien.*

He shits eggs without shells

Flemish proverb cited in Kraus⁵

Squeeze too hard and you'll shit

Rutebeuf, *Le pet au vilain: Trop serrer fait chier*

³ Rossi = Rossi, ed. and trans. *Fabliaux érotiques*.

⁴ Gaignebet = Gaignebet and Lajoux, *Art profane et religion populaire*.

⁵ *Misericords*, (New York, 1975), caption for fig. 40.

APPENDIX THREE

PIERART DOU TIELT

Significant studies on Pierart:

François Avril, *Les fastes du gothique*, no. 301, pp. 348–349.

A. d’Haenens, “Pierart dout Tielt, enlumineur des oeuvres de Gilles le Muisis. Notes sur son activité à Tournai vers 1350,” *Scriptorium* 33 (1969), pp. 89–93, pp. 23–30.

Alison Stones, “The Artistic Context,” in *The Manuscripts of Chrétien de Troyes*, (Amsterdam, 1993), p. 259, n. 127.

_____, “Prolegomena to a Corpus of Vincent of Beauvais Illustration,” in *Vincent de Beauvais: intentions et réceptions d’une oeuvre encyclopédique au moyen âge*, ed. M. Paulmier-Foucart (Paris, 1990), pp. 301–344.

Lori Walters, “Wonders and Illuminations: Pierart dou Tielt and the Queste del Saint Graal,” in *Word and Image in Arthurian Literature*, ed. Keith Busby, (London, 1996), pp. 339–372, n. 8–9.

PROVISIONAL CHECKLIST OF PIERART DOU TIELT MANUSCRIPTS (IN CHRONOLOGICAL ORDER WHEN POSSIBLE)¹

1. Washington, Library of Congress, MS De Ricci 127, *Evangelary*, usage of Saint-Martin de Tournai.
2. BR MS 4783, *Roman de Pamphile et Galathée*.
3. BR MS IV 453, Book of Hours.
4. Tournai, Bibliothèque de la Ville, MS 101, *Roman de la rose*, with the Maître du Cérémonial de Saint-Pierre au Mont Blandin, 1330.
5. Cambrai, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 133, Breviary of Sainte-Aldegonde de Maubeuge, summer section, c. 1330 (Avril, no. 250).
6. Bodleian Alexander, 1338–44.
7. BR MS 79 Vincent de Beauvais.
8. BR MS 118 Vincent de Beauvais.
9. BR MS II 1010 V.d.G. 1172, Jean Cassien, *Collationes*.

¹ A number of these manuscripts are mentioned/described in Avril’s catalogue entries in *Les fastes du gothique*.

10. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, MS 5218, *La Queste del saint Graal*, 1351 (Avril, no. 301).
11. BR MSS 13076–7, Gilles le Muisis, abbot of St-Martin, Tournai, *Annales*.
12. BR MS IV 119, Gilles le Muisis, abbot of St-Martin, Tournai, *Poésies*.
13. Courtrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, Fonds Goethals-Vercruysse MS 135, Gilles le Muisis, abbot of St-Martin, Tournai, *Tractatus*.
14. Lille, Bibliothèque municipale, MS 366 (116), *Somme le Roi*, 1358.

APPENDIX FOUR

COMPARISON TABLE FOR PROVERBS IN THE MARGINALIA

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
1. Oxford, All Souls College, ms. lat. 6: Psalter	c. 1240–60. English				13				
2. [London, British Museum]: Rutland Psalter	1250, English		34	98v					
3. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 288: Psalter and Hours	c. 1250–75. Liège		145v						
4. New York, H.P. Kraus Cat. no. 75, no. 88: Psalter for Marguerite of Flanders and Hainaut	c. 1260–80. Flemish	[45v]							

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
5. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 102-103: Breviary, 2 vols., use of St.-Sépulcre de Cambrai	c. 1290. Cambrai								324, 340
6. New Haven, Yale University Library 229: <i>Lancelot</i> .	c. 1275-80?. Therouanne		27v		199				31
7. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. latin 10435: Psalter	c. 1290. Picard?								125v

8. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 95; Robert de Borron, <i>L'Histoire du graal</i>	c. 1290. Flemish	343
9. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 10607; Psalter of Gui de Dampierre	c. 1290. Flemish	130
10. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 109; Breviary	c. 1290. Franco-Flemish	132bis
11. London, British Museum, Add. 30029; Psalter	c. 1290. Franco-Flemish	82 71, 72, 77v, 89

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
12. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 183: Psalter, Liège use	c. 1290. Liège				238				
13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 14284: Hours, Théroutanne use	c. 1290. Northern French	21	[12v]						
14. Formerly Chester Beatty Collection, ms. 62: <i>Speculum Mariae Virginis</i>	c. 1290. Northern French	[76]							

15. <i>London, BL, Add. 38114-15</i> ¹	c. 1290. North French	XXX	XXX
16. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 109; Breviary for the use of St.-Bénigne, Dijon	after 1287. Burgundy	82	210v
17. Dijon, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 113; Breviary, use of St.-Bénigne de Dijon.	c. 1300. Burgundy	48	48

(Continued)

¹ See Schools of Illumination. Reproductions from Mss in the British Museum, part 5, London, 1926, pp.10-11; pl. II.

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
18. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 45: Psalter for Leonardo dei Fieschi, canon of Cambrai and then provost of St.-Donatian, Bruges	c. 1282–1297. Northeast French	147	104						44v
19. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 90: Hours for Saint-Omer use (diocese of Théroutanne)	after 1297. Northeast France	[129v], 210v							

for a lady affiliated with the Dominican Order		
20. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Do uce 118: Psalter and Hours for	before 1302. Metz diocese	88v, 118v
Joffroy d'Asprement and Isabelle de Kievraing (part I)		
21. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, ms. 1254/3: (part II)		30v

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
22. London, British Museum, Yates Thompson, ms. 8: Breviary for Marguerite de Var, Verdun use (part I).	between 1302–1304- Lorraine								
23. Verdun, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 107: (part II)					57				
24. Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, ms. 298: "Metz Pontifical," for Reynaud de Bar, bishop of Metz	between 1302–1316. Metz		145		1v				

25. New Haven, Yale University Library: Rothschild Canticles, <i>Canticles of the Virgin</i>	c. 1300. Flemish	115	156v	
26. London, British Museum, Stowe ms. 17: Hours	c. 1300. Maestricht?	84	64v-65	[211]
27. Princeton, Art Museum, Princeton University, ms. 44-18: Hours, use of Chartres(?)	c. 1310. Maestricht?		134v- 135	
28. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, ms. B.1.1.22: Hours	c. 1310. Flemish	[102]		216v

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
29. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 85; Hours	c. 1310: Franco-Flemish	[48v], [50]	[52]		91v				
30. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 88; Hours.	c. 1300–1310. Cambrai				155 [paddle]			[14v]	
31. Nancy, Bibliothèque municipale, ms. 249; Psalter	c. 1310. Franco-Flemish							[195]	
32. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 24681; Hours	c. 1310. Franco-Flemish	87							

33. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 1029A: Breviary, use of St-Maur	c. 1319. Verdun	45v	
34. The Hague, Meermann-Westreenianum Museum, ms. 78.D.40: Missal, use of St.-Jean	1323. Amiens; illuminated by Pierre de Raimbaucourt	31, 59v, 103v, 156	
35. London, British Museum, Royal ms. 2 B.VII: "Queen Mary's Psalter"	c. 1300–25. English	157v 158	
36. London, British Museum, Harley ms. 6563: Hours	c. 1300–25. English.	14v-15, 54v-55 59v-60	28, 66

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
37. Copenhagen, Det Kongelige Bibliotek, ms. 3384.8: Psalter	c. 1300–25. Flemish	[7], [173v]	29v				69v [to stream]	67	
38. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 5–6: Psalter, 2 vols., calendar of St.-Pierre de Blandigny near Ghent	c. 1300–25. Flemish	6: [125], [161]	5: 35: 6: 92					6: 181	6: 93v
39. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 366: “Ormesby Psalter”	c. 1310–25. English, East Anglia				71v				

40. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 49622: "Gorleston Psalter," Sarum use	c. 1310-25. English, East Anglia	47, 49v, 128, 143v	157v	
41. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 82: Psalter, Hymnal, Hours of the Virgin	c. 1315-25. Ghent		52	179v
42. Paris, Musée Jacquemart-André, ms. 1: Hours of Jeanne de Savoy, duchess of Bretagne	c. 1325-1330. Paris; atelier of Pucelle.			31v

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
43. New York, The Cloisters, Metropolitn Museum of Art, ms. 54.1.2: Hours "of Jeanne d'Evreux"	c.1325–28. Paris; Pucelle					202 (woman holding breeches)			
44. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 36684: Hours, executed for Marguerite de Beaujeu, (?) St.-Omer use, (part I)	after 1318. Franco-Flemish							[48], 52, 58v, 66v, 67, 82, 94v, 110, [152], 153v	

45. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 754: (part II)	[26]	[49v]	3v, [6v], 14, 35, 47, 48, 48v, 59
46. Cambridge, University Library, ms. Dd.5.5: Psalter and Breviary of Mary of Valence, 2nd Countess of Pembroke	c. 1325-50. French.		280
47. London, British Museum, Royal ms. 10 E.IV: Smithfield <i>Decretals (of Gregory IX)</i>	c. 1325-1350. England, perhaps St. Bartholomew's, London. Written in Italy	49v 40, 49v, 175	[145- 145v]

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
48. Cologne Cathedral, choirstalls	c. 1340. Cologne				choirstall SI				
49. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. 264: <i>Romance of Alexander</i>	1338–1344. Bruges; illuminated by Jehan de Grise							[204]	
50. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. nouv. acq. lat. 3105: <i>Breviarium ad usum ecclesiae Sancti Petri Coloniensis</i>	c. 1340–1350. Cologne	40v							

51. London, British Museum, Yates Thompson, ms. 27: Hours of Yolande de Flandre	c. 1353. Paris	41	[70av]		
52. London, British Museum, Egerton. ms. 2781: Hours	c. 1350. English	53			
53. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. G.24: Jacques de Longuyon, <i>Les voeux du paon</i> ; Jean Brisebarre, <i>Le restor du paon</i>	c. 1352. Tournai?	78v, 87v fox only-25v, [ape- 32v 113v]	6v, both are women	8, [man/ man- 87v]	82v

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
54. Koblenz, Landes- hauptarchiv, Balduineum 2, Papal document included in a miscellany (Ronig, page 538)	after 1354. Trèves? But writing seems later???	41?	41?						
55. Brussels, Bibliothèque, Royale, ms. 9427: Breviary of Louis de Mâle	c. 1365. Brabant	62v	62v					14	

56. Oxford, Bodleian Library, latin liturg. f.3: Hours of Anne of Bohemia (queen of Richard II)	before 1382, Brussels	[40]	[21v], 38	
57. Chantilly, Musée Condé, ms. 62: Hours	c. 1350-1400. French			172, 172v
58. <i>Diest, église Saint-Sulpice: choirstall</i>	1491			choirstall
59. <i>Walcourt, église Sainte-Materne: choirstall</i>	1531			choirstall

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Fox and Stork pt. I [Variant]	Fox and Stork pt. II [Variant]	Fox preacher	Woman Chasing [Cat] Fox w/ distaff	Fight for Breeches	Man Carrying Ass/ Horse	Oven [Baking Scenes]	Sitting on Eggs
60. <i>Hoogstraten, collégiale Sainte- Catherine: choirstall</i>	c. 1550					2x -choirstall; in one instance 2 women fight before a man		choirstall	
61. <i>L'Isle-Adam, église Saint- Martin: choirstall</i>	15C							choirstall	
62. <i>Kempen, église Nativité-de- Marie: choirstall</i>	15C	choirstall	choirstall	2x- choirstall				choirstall	

63. <i>Villefranche-de-Rouergue, collégiale Notre-Dame: choirstall</i>	15C	choirstall
64. <i>Rouen, cathédrale Notre-Dame: choirstall</i>	15C	choirstall
65. <i>Champeaux, église Saint-Martin: choirstall</i>	16C	choirstall
66. <i>Basel, cathédrale Notre-Dame: choirstall</i>	16C	choirstall

APPENDIX FIVE

COMPARISON TABLE FOR OBSCENAE IN THE MARGINALIA

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing Genitals	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
1. [London, British Museum]: Rutland Psalter	1250, English.		w-66v, 67				
2. London, British Museum, Royal ms. 1 D.I: “Bible of William of Devon.”	c. 1250. English.		b-35ov				
3. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 95: Robert de Borron, <i>L’Histoire du graal.</i>	c. 1270–80?; Therouanne.		b-254 w-190v, 214				

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing Genitals	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
4. Liège, Bibliothèque de l'Université, ms. 431: Psalter.	1275–1300. Liège.		w-44					
5. Cambrai, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 102–103: Breviary, 2 vols., use of St.-Sépulcre de Cambrai.	c. 1290. Cambrai.		b-179v, 462					
6. New Haven, Yale University Library 229; <i>Lancelot del Lac</i> , part 3.	c. 1290. Therouanne.							
7. Florence, L. Olschki, 4th Int. Bk. Fair (1932), no.4: Psalter.	c. 1290. Flemish							
8. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 10607: Psalter of Gui de Dampierre.	c. 1290. Flemish.	17	w-17v					

9. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9411-26: <i>Recueil des poésies morales</i> .	c. 1290. Franco-Flemish.	f-134v
10. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 109: Breviary for the use of St.-Bénigne, Dijon	c. 1290. Burgundy.	197v
11. London, British Museum, Yates Thompson ms. 15: Psalter and Hours.	c. 1290. Franco-Flemish.	b-144, 307v
12. London, British Museum, Royal ms. 14 E.III: St. Graal.	c. 1290. French.	b-89
13. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 1076: Psalter.	c. 1290. Northern French.	b-42
14. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 45: Psalter for Leonardo dei Fieschi, canon of Cambrai and then provost of St.-Donatian, Bruges.	c. 1282-1297. Northeast French.	[166v]

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing Genitals	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
15. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 131; <i>Speculum historiale</i> , for Eustache Gomer de Lille, abbot of St. Bertin at St. Omer.	1297. St. Omer.			202				
16. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 90: Hours for Saint-Omer use (diocese of Théroutanne) for a lady affiliated with the Dominican Order	after 1297. Northeast France.		w-67v, 78v					
17. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 118: Psalter and Hours for Joffroy d'Asprement and Isabelle de Kievraing (part I).	before 1302. Metz diocese.		b-122					

18. Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria, ms. 1254/3: (part II)				b-23 w-16	14v
19. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 102: Psalter and Hours (Augustinian).	c. 1300. English.			f-89v, 92v w-90	53
20. New Haven, Yale University Library: Rothschild Canticles, <i>Canticles of the Virgin</i> .	c. 1300. Flemish.			i-134	
21. Mrs. Rosy Schilling: Calendar from a Book of Hours.	c. 1300. Flemish.				[August]
22. London, British Museum, Stowe ms. 17: Hours. ²	c. 1300. Maestricht?	223, 202v	fish-83v i-153v	61v, 153v	

(Continued)

² Note: fol. 73: 2 recently beheaded hybrids - w/ bleeding necks - fight with swords over a man's head; 94v, chickens mate

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing Genitals	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
23. Cambridge, Trinity College Library, ms. B.1.1.22: Hours.	c. 1310. Flemish.					[73]	
24. Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery, ms. 88: Hours.	c. 1300–10. Cambrai.	47, 87, 106, 149	b-90v, 187 w-189 e-81v	157	80, 86v, 175v	176	
25. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9391: Hours.	c. 1310. Franco- Flemish.	93	w-93				
26. Arras, Musée Diocésain, ms. 47: Psalter and Hours, St-Omer calendar.	c. 1310. Northern French.		w-127v				
27. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Ashmole 828: <i>Arthurian Romance</i> .	c. 1310. French.		w-98v				
28. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 3893: <i>Decretals of Gratian</i> ; owned by Arnaud Leroy, archidiacon of Cambrai	1314. Paris, scribe: Thomas de Wymonduswold		b-98 w-98		96		

29. Tournai, Cathedral Treasury: Psalter of Louis le Hutin.	1315. Tournai.	30v, 54v, 56	b-184v, 209v w-204, 248v e-29v b-1	125v	125v
30. Karlsruhe, Bad. Landesbibliothek, cod. aug. perg. 1; <i>Decretals</i> of John XXII	c. 1315. North France?				
31. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 146; <i>Roman de Fauvel</i> .	c. 1315. Paris	34, 36v			
32. The Hague, Meermanno-Westreenianum Museum, ms. 78.D.40: Missal, use of St.-Jean.	1323. Amiens; illuminated by Pierre de Raimbaucourt.		w-36, 158v		
33. Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale, ms. 130, parts i and ii (direct copy of Boulogne 131 of 1297 above); <i>Speculum historiale</i>	c. 1300-20. St.-Omer.	6v		[part i] 183v	Use of conceit whereby necks emerge on hybrids from groins to resemble phalluses throughout

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing Genitals	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
34. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 10292-94: Arthurian Romances.	c. 1310-20. French.						10294: 1	
35. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 49622: "Gorleston Psalter," Sarum use.	c. 1310-25. English, East Anglia.	61, 102v, 104, 124	w-78		158, 206v	62v, 90v, 120v	82	
36. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 29253: Breviary, use of St.-Pierre of Blandigny. Same artist as below	c. 1320-30. Ghent.		unicorn's horn-255v				328v [41v, 410v]	
37. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. Douce 5-6: Psalter, 2 vols., calendar of St.-Pierre de Blandigny near Ghent.	c. 1320-30. Ghent.	[5]: 146	b-102v w-120, 123v				181v [149]	

52, [68v]

b-196

c. 1315-25.
Ghent.

38. Baltimore, Walters
Art Gallery, ms. 82:
Psalter, Hymnal
and Hours of
the Virgin.

39. Brussels, Bibliothèque, c. 1330. Brussels 60

Royale, ms. 9433-34:
Les sept sages de Rome;
Le roman de Marke
de Rome et de Laurin
son fils.

40. Dijon, c. 1330.
Bibliothèque Paris

municipale, ms. 525:
Roman de Fauvel.

41. Tours, Bibliothèque c. 1330.
municipale, ms. 947: Paris
Roman de Fauvel.

42. Petrograd, Bibliothèque c. 1330.
municipale, ms. Paris
fr. 5.2.101: *Roman de*
Fauvel.

158bis- Nun
cleans

Fauvel's
penis

155- Nun
cleans

Fauvel's
penis

1- Nun
cleans

Fauvel's
penis

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
43. Copenhagen, Royal Library, ancien fonds royal, ms. 2061–4°; <i>Le romans de la rose, Le dit de l'empereur Coustant, Le dit d'Amour, Le plait de levesque et de Droit</i>	c. 1330–40. Flemish.	1; ape acrobat						
44. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 88: Hours, Metz use.	c. 1300–1350. Metz?		w-173, 176v be-173 voll.I: w-187v					
45. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. II 988: Baudouin d'Avesnes, <i>Trésor des histoires</i> , 2 vols.	c. 1300–50. Belgian.						vol.II: 224, 239	

(Continued)

46. London, British Museum, Add. ms. 36684: Hours, (for Marguerite de Beaujeu?), St.-Omer and Hospitallers use, (part I).	c. 1320s. France, probably Théroutanne.	thruout both parts	b-24, 51, 54, 124v, 131v, 149 w-53v, 68v, 147 blessing hand emerges-15, 40v (painted over)	68v	49v	a conceit used whereby necks emerge from groins to resemble phalluses, thruout both parts	51v
Note: ape on swing 16, 31; scoop-mouths-15, 16, 34v							
47. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. 754: (part II).		73v, 81v	b-16v w-48v				
48. London, British Museum, Royal ms. 10 E.IV: Smithfield <i>Decretals</i> (of Gregory IX).	c. 1325-1350. England, perhaps St. Bartholomew's, Smithfield, London. Written in Italy.		e-67v				

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
49. Oxford, Bodleian Library, ms. 264: <i>Romance of Alexander</i> .	1338–1344. Bruges or Tournai; illuminated by Jehan de Grise and 8 other artists.	40, 57, 74 [monkey; and man carried nude], 79 [doctor check-up], anus] 89 [figure with only chemise manning target for joust in water]	w-3, 112 [monkey musician with plant growing from anus]			94v, monkey student masturbates holding a dagger(?)	56, 90v man farts at a man	
50. Cologne cathedral: choirstall paintings	c. 1340. Cologne					figure in the deco- rative background displays penis to woman heterosexual coitus		
51. Cologne cathedral: choirstall sculptures	c. 1340. Cologne							

52. Karlsruhe, General-landesarchiv, Cod. Berain 8553: Johannes Zenlin (d. 1353), <i>Urbarium Tennebachense</i>	after 1341. Switzerland, Cistercian Monastery of Temnenbach?	1v/female ape/bird?) especially shocking as the Trinity is depicted above	f?-1v,	
53. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr.122: <i>Lancelot</i> ?	1344. Tournai?	211v	e-1	1? [1]
54. New York, The Cloister, The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Psalter of Bonne de Luxembourg.	c. 1345-1350. Paris; illuminated by Jean le Noir.	i-322 (human/ animal hybrid inserts trumpet into bearded face as arse)		
55. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 2195: <i>Roman de Fauvel</i> .	c. 1350. Paris			148- Nun cleans Fauvel's penis
56. Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, ms. 5218: Gautiers Map, <i>Saint Graal</i> .	1351. Tournai; written and illuminated by Piérart dou Tielt.	15		

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprography
57. Liège, Bibliothèque Universitaire, ms. 60 E; Vincent de Beauvais, <i>Speculum historiale</i> ; written by Guillaume de Dycka; owned by Jean de Mierle, prévôt of the Benedictine abbey of St.-Trond (part I).	1350–52. Brussels?		w-1					
58. Liège, Bibliothèque Universitaire, ms. 61 E; (part II)		1					1 [1]	
59. New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, ms. G.24; Jacques de Longuyon, <i>Les voeux du paon</i> ; Jean Brisebarre, <i>Le restor du paon</i> .	c. 1350. Tournai?	17, 25v, 29v, 30v, 37, 44v, 45v, 54, 81v, 84, 113v, 118v, emerges 139	i-1, 7v, 18v, 65, 82, 136v b-136v blessing hand from arse-94v		70, 72v, 79		3v, [33], [34v], 54v, [80v], 89v, [123v]	23v, 44v

60. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 25526: Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, <i>Le roman de la rose</i> .	c. 1350. French.	135	f-135	4v, 35, 148
61. Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale, ms. 9577: Guillaume de Lorris and Jean de Meun, <i>Le roman de la rose</i> .	c. 1355. Paris; illuminated by the Master of the <i>Remede de Fortune</i>	2	w-2	2
62. London, British Museum, Royal 17 E. VII: Guiart des Moulins, <i>Bible historiale</i> , 2 vols.	c. 1357. Paris; illuminated by the Master of the Bible of Jean de Sy.		vol. 1: f-1	
63. Brussels, BR, 9577: Roman de la rose	c. 1360. Paris; illuminated by the asst. of the Remede Master	1	w-1	
64. The Hague, Meermannno-Westreenianum Museum, ms. 10.A.14: Missal.	1366, Ghent.		w-151	

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
65. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 1584: Guillaume de Machauts, <i>Collected Works</i>	1370's, Rheims?	278	w-278					
66. Oxford, Bodleian Library, latin liturg. f.3: Hours of Anne of Bohemia (queen of Richard II).	before 1382, Brussels		b-through- out					
67. Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. fr. 580: miscellany with <i>Roman de Fauvel</i> .	c. 1380s. Paris					123- Nun cleans Fauvel's penis		
68. Troyes, cathédrale Saint Pierre: portal cul-de-lampes	14C		be-portal		portal			
69. Saint-Claude, cathédrale Saint Pierre: choirstall	1459				armrest		armrest	
70. Diest, église Saint Sulpice: choirstall	1491		choirstall be- choirstall					

71. Chezal-Benoît, abbatiale Saint-Pierre: choirstall	1491	2x- choirstall	
72. Goslar, Germany, Carved Figure on a Building (now the Hotel Kaiserworth)	1494		defecating coins
73. Bordeaux, église, Saint-Seurin: choirstall	15C		choirstall: fool defecating onto a globe?
74. Villefranche-de- Rouergue, collégiale Notre-Dame: choirstall	15C		
75. Rodez, cathédrale Notre-Dame: choirstall	15C	be- choirstall be- choirstall	
76. Angers, "maison à pans de bois"	15C	choirstall	
77. Commensacq, église Saint Martin: "St. Blaise Column"	15C		capital
78. Mortemart, église Saint-Hilaire: choirstall	15C	armrest	
79. Aoste, cathédrale Notre-Dame de l'Assomption: choirstall	15C	armrest	

(Continued)

Manuscripts arranged chronologically	Date and Origin	Arse- Baring	Anal Intrusion ¹	Trumpet or tube to arse	Arse- kissing	Exposing	Defecating/ Urinating [into vessel]	Coprophagy
80. Walcourt, église Sainte-Materne: choirstall	153 ¹						[with ibis], [2 figures, with ladles?]	
81. Massay, abbatale Saint-Martin: choirstall	16C	choirstall						

¹ abbreviations: b = bird's beak; w = weapon; e = enema; be = bellows; i = instrument played via anus; f = finger.
² *Note: fol.73: 2 recently beheaded hybrids - w/ bleeding necks - fight with swords over a man's head; 94v, chickens mate.*

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¹ I am using terminology proposed by Sandler, "Reflections on the Construction of Hybrids," and Jurgis Baltrušaitis, *Le Moyen Âge fantastique: Antiquités et exotismes dans l'art gothique* (Paris, 1955). The rudimentary taxonomic vocabulary for hybrids is as follows: bifurcated (head as center with two bodies), gryllus (body with no torso: head replaces genitals), pushmepullu (one body with a head emerging from each side), and composite (hybrids created from multiple parts).

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 Disembodied arses [6]
 17 (see contortionist, arse as altar), 29v (arse), 44v (eating an arse), 45v (arse), 54 (arse-worship), 81v (arse)
 Kissing mouth to mouth [2]
 12v (apes), 136v (two-headed hybrid, male and female)
 Mating [2]
 12 (dogs; about to copulate?), 69v (mating cock and hen)

Pilgrims (apes with pronged walking sticks) [4]

29, 43v, 60v, 106v (farmer? with double pronged walking stick?)

Proverbs/ Fabliaux/ Exempla [21]

Ass Playing the Lyre (here with a gittern) [1]
 48
 Big Fish Eats Small Fish [1]
 131
 Disciplining the Ape [1]
 6
 Fall from Fortune's Favor [2]
 73 (nude man), 104v (wildman with crozier), 119 (nude man)
 Fight for the Britches/Whoever Wins the Britches Gets the Man [1]
 6v (two women)
 Fox and Stork (part II) [2]
 78v, 87v
 Fox Preaching to Fowl (abbreviated: Fox dressed as bishop) [2]
 25v, 32v
Grand Cri Abat Chastel/Castle Toppled by Cock [1]
 38v
 Man Carrying Ass [2]
 8, 87v (man in britches carrying nude man)
 Mouse Emerging from Buisine [1]
 102
 Oven (with man's face peering from opening) [1]
 28v

- Sitting on Eggs [1]
 82v (ape)
 Sleeping It Off (man sleeping on 3-footed stool) [1]
 134
 Sow suckling piglets [1]
 57
 Who Sups with the Devil Needs a Long Spoon (ape dines with devil) [1]
 118
 Woman Chasing with Distaff and Spindle [2]
 42 (chasing cat), 113v (chasing arse-baring ape?)
- Religious (excluding templars) [18]
 ape and donkey procession including ape child with aspergis and situla [1]
 51
 aumusse (almice) [2]
 62, 84v
 bishop (crozier, mitre) [11]
 29v, 32v, 72v, 74v, 79v, 83v, 92v, 104v, 129, 132, 137v
 pope? (conical papal? tiara) [1]
 35
 tonsure [3]
 70v, 89v, 99v
- Saracen/foreigner? [3]
 84v (human-headed dog with head kerchief), 95v (winged hybrid wearing a knotted head kerchief watches fight scene in miniature), 135v (bearded human-headed hybrid wearing a head kerchief)
- Teachers [3]
 6 (ape with ape students), 7 (boar? in clerical robes and holding ladle? speaking to five-headed boar hybrid), 52 (ape with lion cub gryllus student)
- Templars/flagellants [5]
 67 (A kneeling Templar raises his sword as if to decapitate a kneeling, pleading monk on whose head he rests his hand), 70 (A Templar kisses the arse of a nude, tonsured male gryph), 70v (An animal-headed Templar brandishes a scourge), 95 (A Templar casts away a scourge), 140v (A kneeling, animal-headed Templar brandishes a scourge).
- Possibly Templar/flagellants (wearing conical hat) [4]
 33, 41v, 50, 84v (This human-headed hybrid holds a scourge in his mouth)
- Weapons [38]
 axes [5]
 20v, 43, 66v, 111, 114v
 bow and arrow [3]
 109, 111v, 122
 clubs [3]
 27, 72, 122v
 flail [2]
 68, 75v
 fleshhooks [5]
 16v, 36v, 48, 71, 128v

ladle [1]

47v

scythe [1]

33

spear [8]

49v (2), 58v, 62, 65, 65v, 69, 94v

sword [10]

26, 46v, 50, 58v, 66, 67 (2), 69, 76v, 78v



Plate 1. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 4, det., Fésonas crowns Betis as 'le roy qui ne ment' (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 2. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 19v, det., Emenidus offers amends to Gadifer (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 3. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 25v, det., Cassamus disrupts Fésonas and Cassiel's game of chess (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 4. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 30v, det., The joust of Porrus and Floridas and the animal raid (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 5. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 32, det., The knights of Ephésion and India fight (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 6. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 34v, det., Clarus' two sons fight Gadifer and Aristé (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 7. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 36, det., Betis is captured (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 8. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 37v, det., Porrus is taken prisoner (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 9. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 43v, det., Porrus kills the peacock (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 10. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 44, det., The Vows of the Peacock are made, (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 11. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 52, det., Aristé receives the prize (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 12. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 55, det., Lyoné jousts with Canaäm (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 13. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 69v, det., Fésonas greets Alexander and the Twelve Worthies (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 14. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 80v, det., Porrus unhorses Emenidus (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 15. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 82v, det., Perdicas fulfills his vow (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 16. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 85v, det., King Clarus and Cassamus fight on foot (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 17. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 86, det., Cassamus helps King Clarus to remount (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 18. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 86v, det., Aristé slays the King of Pincernia (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 19. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 88, det., The Baudrain takes Alexander's sword (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 20. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 88v, det., Caulus takes the Baudrain's helmet (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 21. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 95v, det., Porrus slays Cassamus (photo with permission: PML).



Plate 22. PML, MS G24, *Voeux du paon*, fol. 97, det., Emenidus seizes Porrus (photo with permission: PML).